

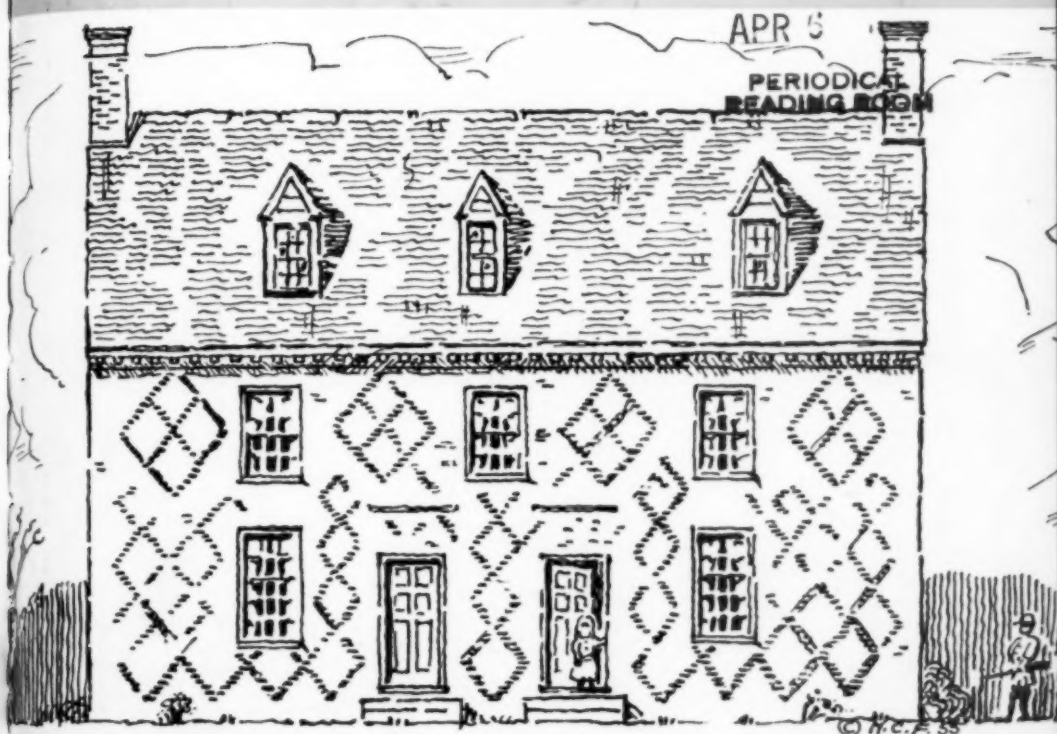
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50th Year of Publication

MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

UNIVERSITY
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A Reconstruction Drawing of Genesar, Worcester County.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE

March · 1955

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. 50, No. 1

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FRED SHELLEY, *Editor*

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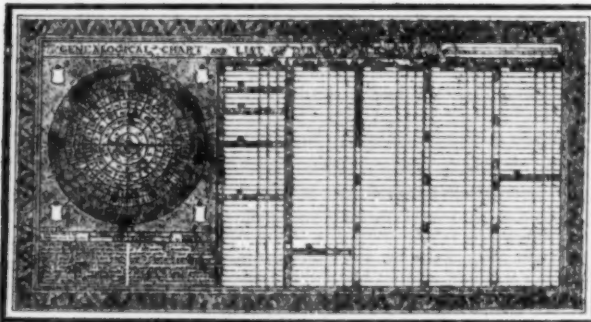
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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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Number 1

GENESAR ON "THE SEA BOARD SIDE"¹

By HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN

Illustrated by the Author

THE unfortunate and deplorable, but in many ways inevitable, destruction of the greater part of the remnants of colonial Maryland during the last century and a half may be well summed up today in that great brick pile, "Genesar," green and grey in color, still lifting its proud but tottering head above the Atlantic Ocean beaches in Worcester County.

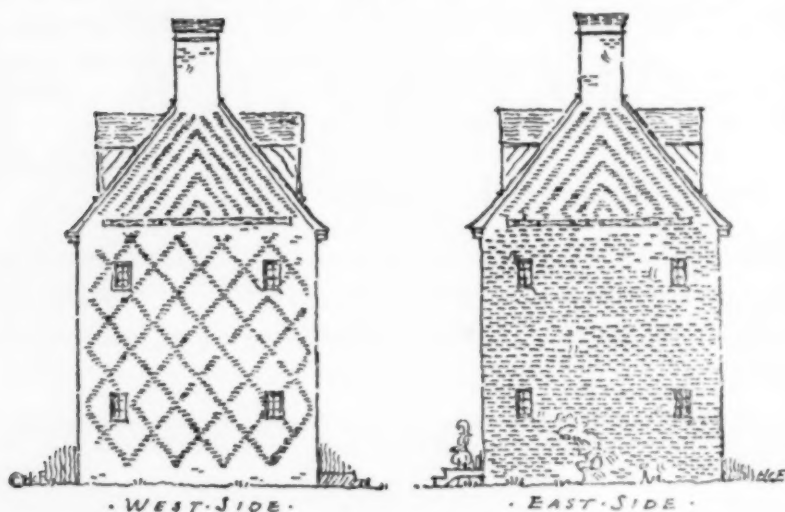
With the gradual ruin and continuous pillaging of Genesar, Maryland loses the most interesting building of the Transitional Style of architecture on the Eastern Shore if not in the entire State.

¹ Copyright 1955 by Henry Chandlee Forman. This article comprises a chapter in the writer's forthcoming book, *Tidewater Maryland Architecture*, a sequel to *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland*. No part of this article, including the cover illustration, may be reproduced in any fashion.

The writer acknowledges the kind assistance in the historical part of this article given by Mr. William D. Pitts and Mr. Edward H. Hammond.

Maryland becomes shorn of the best example, if not the only example, of Transitional panelling. And Maryland lets slip the richest glazed brick patterns, or black diapering, in the whole State, and probably in the United States.

In that icy winter of 1932 this writer discovered Genesar at the end of a roadway several miles long, which was so muddy that it was almost impassable. From that visit the first published photo-



Gable-end reconstruction of Genesar, showing the "richest glazed brick patterns in the State."

graph of the mansion in 1934 appeared.² In those days the house was empty, and all the handsome hand-carved woodwork remained except the stair balustrade. "Balusters gone" is the way it was expressed at that time in the field notes made at the site.

The history of Genesar goes back 279 years, and connects together several prominent families of the Eastern Shore. The land known as Genesar (the original name; also Genzar, Genessar, Genezir, Genezer) was patented on May 10, 1676, to the Honorable Colonel William Stevens and comprised 2,200 acres, "lying on the Sea Board side in Boquetonorton [Poquadenorton] Hundred on the south end of Sinepuxent Neck." Colonel Stevens, it appears, was one of the most important men of the Eastern

² *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland* (Easton, 1934), p. 141.

Shore, a large property owner, and one of his Lordship's deputies for Maryland. He lived at "Rehobeth" on the Pocomoke River and in 1688 died there.

Nevertheless, Stevens did not long possess Genesar, for he assigned it to Edward Whale or Whaley and to Charles Ratcliffe, who received a patent for the whole 2,200 acres on January 10, 1679. Edward Whaley, who died in 1718, married Elizabeth Ratcliffe, a sister of Charles Ratcliffe. The tradition that this Edward Whaley was the "Regicide" at the time of King Charles I has been disproven by competent scholars.³

The property was soon split into portions as follows: Charles Ratcliffe received 600 acres, Elian Ratcliffe 500, Nathaniel Ratcliffe of "Accomack" 300, and Edward Whaley 800. In 1709, upon the death of Charles Ratcliffe, his daughter Eliza received by will 200 acres of Genesar, his brother John Ratcliffe 100 acres, and his wife the remainder.⁴

The existing mansion, Genesar, now popularly known as "Genezir," is believed to have been constructed in 1732 by Major John Purnell, who died in 1756. The date of building is said to have been found among old manuscripts by a competent authority, but this writer has not been able to check that data. At any rate, as far as the architecture of Genesar is concerned, the year 1732, which marks approximately the terminus of the Transitional Style, is satisfactory.⁵ No date has been found on the structure itself.

Major John Purnell married Elizabeth Ratcliffe; and their sixth child, Thomas Purnell, who married a woman of his own family of Purnell, apparently lived at Genesar. During the American Revolutionary War the house is believed to have been occupied by either the above Thomas Purnell or his son Zadok Purnell.⁶

In the early 1800s the property came into the possession of U. S. Senator John Selby Spence by his marriage with Maria, only daughter of Zadok Purnell. Senator Spence was born February 29, 1788, died October 22, 1840, and is buried in St. Paul's Church-

³ Clayton Torrence, *Old Somerset on the Eastern Shore of Maryland* (Richmond, 1935), p. 460.

⁴ Worcester County Land Records, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Liber 19, folio 288; Liber 21, folio 101. The patent of "Geneser," 200 acres, in 1688 to William Elgate (Liber 12, folio 119) appears to have been an error. *Maryland Calendar of Wills*, III, p. 161.

⁵ H. C. Forman, "The Transition in Maryland Architecture," *Maryland Historical Magazine* XLIV (December, 1949), plate 1, p. 276.

⁶ Letter of Mr. William D. Pitts.

yard, Berlin. Then, about 1867, approximately 700 acres, along with the mansion, were purchased by Zadok Purnell Henry, I, from whom the place descended through his son of the same name to the three heirs, John D. Henry, Addie Byrd Henry (Mrs. Ethan Allen Carey), and Dr. Zadok Purnell Henry, III, the last two of whom are still living. In 1939 Genesar was sold out of the Henry family.

Perhaps the moss-eaten brick pile has no claim to fame such as the event, "George Washington slept here," but there is a belief in the neighborhood that a ship of the British Navy during the War of 1812 fired upon Genesar. We know today that little harm came to the dwelling through cannon balls. The Maryland W. P. A. *Guide* states that there may be bullet holes in the walls; "may" is a good word when one is not sure of his facts. Besides, Genesar was out of range of any ship of that time which lay off shore.⁷

But another tradition which may have more truth than fiction in it still persists through several generations of the Henry family. This is the story: During the American Revolution a British ship came through the North Beach inlet, which no longer exists, and the owner of Genesar at that time, Thomas (or Zadok) Purnell, became alarmed. He feared a landing party. The day was frigid and the snow lay upon the ground. He armed his slaves with corn stocks and marched them in formation across the field in front of the house down to the shore, and then along the shore from one clump of trees to another. Then he had his slaves furtively crawl back to the house, form and march again over the same terrain. By this means he allowed time for his family to move out of the mansion their possessions, such as china and clothing. One of the china platters said to have been carried away in haste that day was not broken and is owned now by a member of the Henry family.

At the time of this writing, Genesar mansion is like a huge dilapidated coffin stuffed with straw. In reality it is used as a barn, and hay sticks out doors and windows. Except for building materials of old brick and wood, its monetary value is nothing. The roofs are caving in by degrees. For several years some floors were overloaded with bags of fertilizer and other farm materials,

⁷ *Ibid.* Also, *Maryland, A Guide to the Old Line State* (New York, 1940), p. 450.



The west gable-end of Genesar in which lozengy may be seen by keen eyes, is marked by strong Gothic verticality. Author's photograph, 1934.



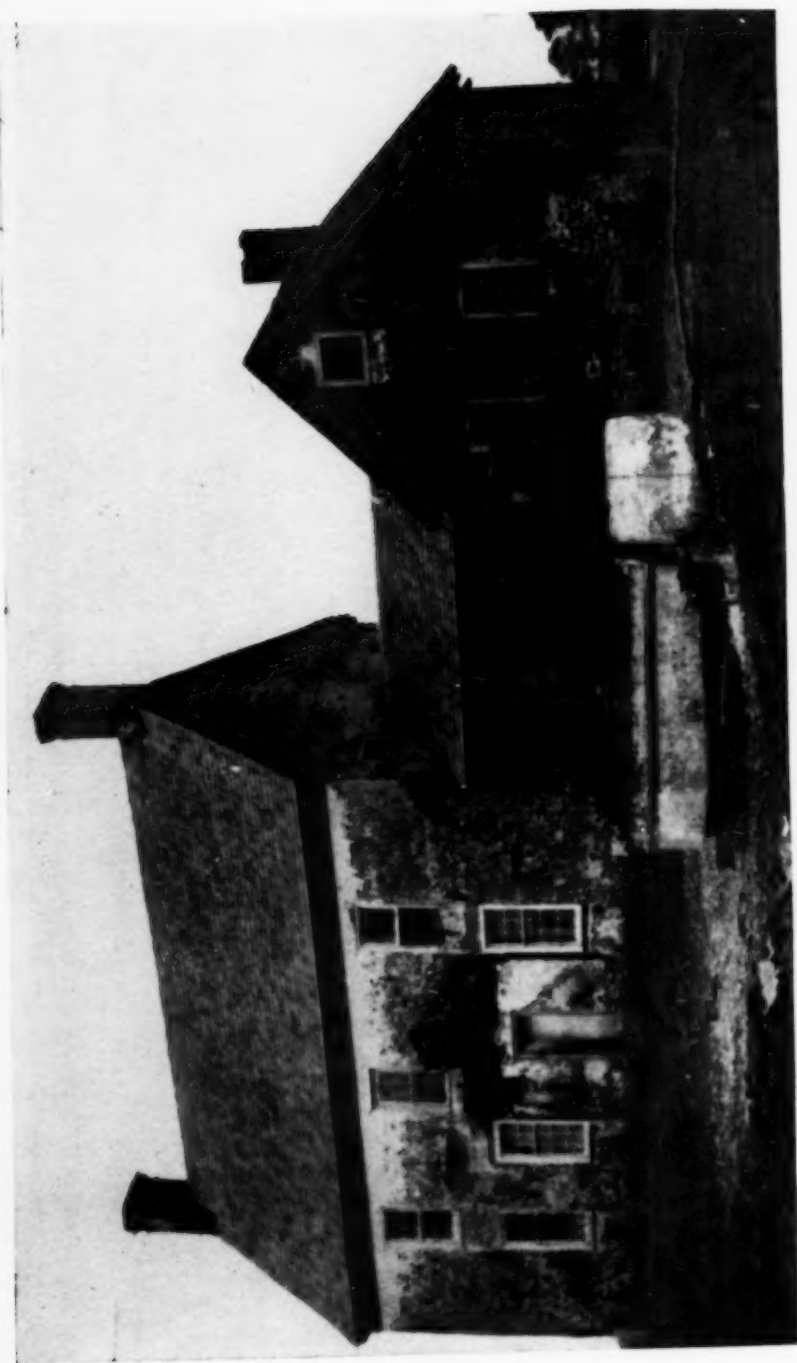
A truck drove up in the night to Genesar, and this panelling from the Hall Chamber was secretly stolen. In their haste the marauders left the woodwork. Author's photograph, 1932.



The rare transitional panelling at Genesar has small squares and near-squares, and a door with a double-cross design. All this woodwork has disappeared. Author's photograph, ca. 1934.



A detail of the handsome stair at Genesar before the "question-mark" spandrels on the steps were stripped. Author's photograph, 1934.



The approach front of Genesar, Worcester County, as it looked in 1932, before much pillaging had been done.
The well has now gone.

and fell in; other floors have been ripped up for sport. Brick partitions have been demolished by hand by visitors of a certain type. The carved spandrels on the side of the graceful stairway which rises to the attic have been systematically stripped down to the very last one. All the doors and windows of the original house, except the broken pieces of one door, found buried in fragments in the refuse of the attic, have disappeared from the premises. What a picture to paint for Marylanders and for that vast hinterland of persons interested in early American arts: Gradually, year by year, for more than twenty-two years, Genesar has been dying by inches—if a building with such a personality as this can die. It is now a shambles, beyond hope of repair and restoration unless a fortune is spent upon it. And all these changes have been taking place—at least in recent years—with the main paved highway to a new multi-million-dollar beach development project running past the front door.

However that may be, the crowning indignity to Genesar came one dark night years ago—some time within that decade following 1941—when vandals pillaged the place. Now a vandal is defined as a ruthless plunderer, a wilful destroyer of what is beautiful or artistic; and that description fits these particular visitors. It has been reported by several persons of the neighborhood, including the caretaker of the farm, that a truck was driven up to the house, and the handsome panelling in the Hall Chamber over the Great room was stripped from the walls and loaded. As may be seen in our photographs, this panelling rose to the ceiling on three sides. That the murky deed was a hasty one is indicated by the fact that the thieves left significant pieces of the woodwork behind them.

Pilfered at that time or at another was the dining room cupboard in the style of Queen Anne, with scrolled shelves, as well as most of the woodwork in that room and in the Great room. The dining room mantel had pilasters with sunken panels and a rope moulding around the opening. Some of the panelled pilasters on pedestals which framed the windows in the Great room are still in place—overlooked by the marauders. After all, it is not easy to work fast by flashlight.

It has been truthfully reported in the neighborhood that the panelling from the Hall Chamber now stands with elegance in a

home in a neighboring State; but wherever it is, Maryland has lost probably its foremost example of Transitional woodwork. In its design of small squares and near-squares this panelling forms the intermediate step between the earlier, random-width, vertical boarding, which is medieval, and the large, rectangular-designed panels, which are Georgian. In truth it is difficult to locate any other panelled room in this country like that at Genesar.

The slenderness of the main block of Genesar is distinctive: forty-five feet long by nineteen feet wide, and two-and-a-half stories high. There is no basement. The house towers skyward like a chimney stack, an excellent example of the Transition where the blossoming has taken place upward instead of rearward. The roof is steep and had at one time four dormers, only one of which now remains. Even so, it is scarcely an exaggeration to declare that this lone dormer on the back roof is the most steeply-pointed early one existing in Maryland. The eaves of the main roof "kicked" or "swallow-tailed" outward by means of a system of wooden wedges fastened upon the lower ends of the rafters. The main cornice on the front is an early Georgian type carrying S-shaped modillions, dentils, and a bed moulding of recessed elliptical-arches, alternately small and large. At the ends of this front cornice the modillions return on themselves. Between the modillions runs a punctate design of the same elliptical-arch motif noted above. All in all, the Purnell builder with this ornamental cornice put his best foot foremost, because the rear cornice is a plain box-like affair. Another detail of interest is the barge board with cyma moulding filling the space under the edge of the cedar shingles at the rake.

The charm of the colonial style lies largely in its details, and one of these details was the insertion of four tiny windows in each gable-end of the original block. All these eight openings, as far as present research has disclosed, have been changed in size or blocked up in one way or another. Further, there is today a ninth tiny opening, a lie-on-your-stomach window in the west gable. This aperture is three inches wider than any of the others, and although early in date, it was evidently punched through the brick wall to give ventilation to the west attic bedroom, which had one dormer only. Consequently, this window has been omitted in the drawings.

In doing what amounted to detective work upon the front and rear façades, we found that the house had two front doors and two back doors, where today there exists only one door in each façade. At some period in the history of Genesar mansion two doors were changed into windows; now that the window frames have been stripped from the walls, the door-head timbers of the original doorways may be seen embedded in the masonry walls—enough evidence to convince the most skeptical investigator.

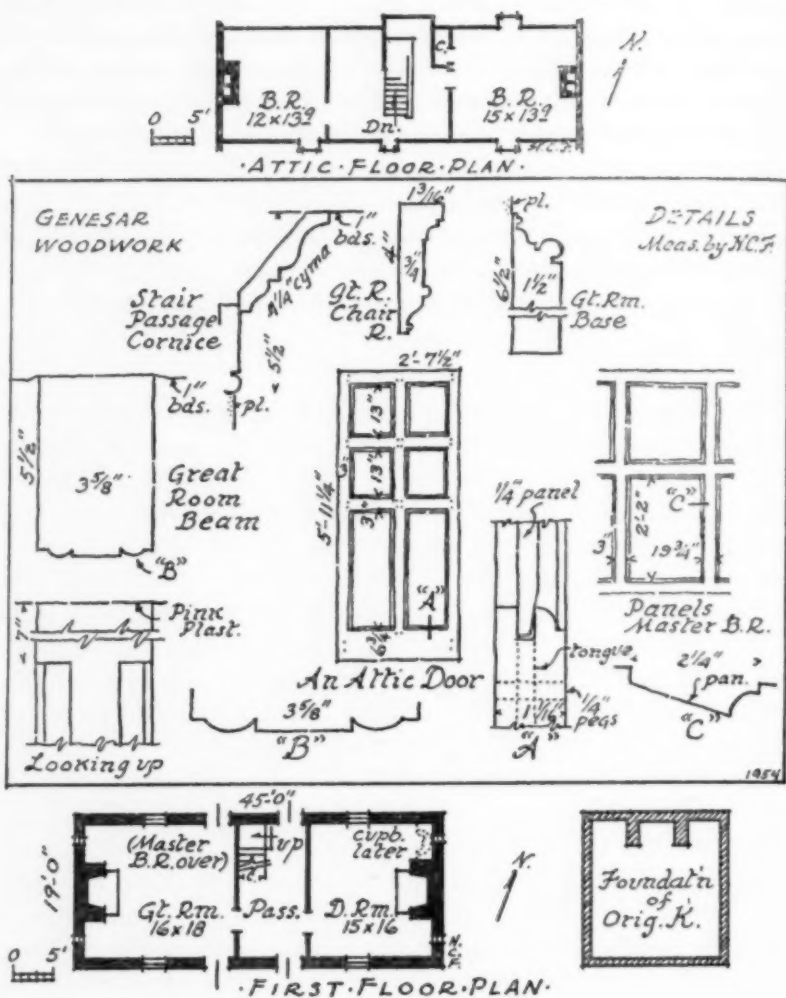
Now when the dwelling was first erected, the Great room had a front and a rear doorway all to itself, features which were later made into windows. Why did Major John Purnell need so many outside doors? There is no trace of the Great room having been the downstairs part of an earlier domicile; then for what were double doors in front and back? Symmetry? Early American architecture is not without its puzzles.

The most ornate glazed brickwork, or black diapering, known in Maryland embellishes the front façade and gable-ends of Genesar. The diamond or lozenge pattern in brick is called "black diapering" in England, where it was widespread in the early 16th century.⁸ The tracing out of the glazed brickwork at Genesar under a heavy coat of stucco has been a far more difficult task than the drawings indicate; but enough evidence was found to make the reconstructions. Curiously enough, less of the patterns beneath the stucco may be seen at the site than from certain photographs, which, X-ray like, reveal the designs. Where no evidence was to be had, we have put in the designs conjecturally.

The lozenge covers the west gable-end below the string course or fascia, above which are inverted V's or chevrons. This gable resembles that at "Make Peace" in Somerset County but is taller, being a storey higher than "Make Peace." Perhaps the gable at "Quinn" or "Sweet Air," Baltimore County, comes close to the west gable-end of Genesar, but it does not have the chevrons. The main entrance front of Genesar resembles the diapering at "Fassit House," Worcester County, a smaller home of one-and-a-half stories. The north gable of Genesar keeps above the string course the chevrons of the south gable, but below, lapses into ordinary Flemish bond with glazed headers. There was no need

⁸ Forman, *The Architecture of the Old South* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), p. 71.

in the builder's mind to place elaborate lozengy opposite the kitchen dependency, which stood only seventeen feet away from the gable-end.



The original floor plans, and some woodwork details, of Genesar. Note the double doors on front and back, and the four attic dormers.

The stucco which covers the main block was put on in the 19th century and was lightly grooved or scored to represent ashlar

masonry. At that time, possibly the 1860s or '70s, there was a small front porch shading the remaining front doorway. The column marks of this porch are still visible against the windows which flank this doorway. Also there are crude traces of the porch roof crossing the lower corner of a second floor window—a Victorian trick. One puzzling feature of the existing front door is the two-inch-deep groove in the brickwork above it. The other doorway on the front appears to have had a similar incision in the brick wall. That the hollow shows no signs of chiselling of the masonry would indicate that the groove was made when the walls were first built; but what was its purpose is a mystery. The groove is not deep enough to support a hood over the doorway.

Some other features of the interior are of note. On the first floor ceiling are wide flat boards, characteristic of houses of this section of Worcester County. On closer investigation, it was found that the boards had been nailed over decorative beams which were once exposed. Each beam is edged with rounded mouldings, flattened out in a very un-Gothic manner. Possibly such mouldings, which are shown on the drawings, may be termed "Transitional." At any rate, these mouldings in each beam stop abruptly, without "lamb's tongues," at a distance of seven inches from the plaster wall.

The Great room has pink plaster, possibly the original color, and before the walls were stripped, had an elaborate trim of pilasters on pedestals flanking the windows. Also the chair rail and baseboard are very curvilinear. On the stairway the balusters were plain, having been rectangular in section. The spandrels were elaborately carved with pierced scrolls, somewhat in the shape of a question mark. Below the spandrels runs a flat band of incised stub flutes, making a pattern. The side of the stair is panelled. But most of all these features are going or gone.

The present brick kitchen, and the "curtain," or passageway connecting it, are additions of the 19th century. After spending an hour or so in the cramped crawl-in space under the kitchen—an area full of dead spiders, snakes, skeletons, trash, cobwebs, and dirt, we can come to the conclusion that the kitchen foundation, built of larger bricks than those of the present kitchen, is original, and formerly supported a wooden building, of perhaps 1732. Be that as it may, there was found no evidence of a

"curtain" to the main house in the 18th century, and the food evidently had to be carried out-of-doors to the back door in the stair passage of the main house, and from thence to the dining room. Small wonder that in the early days silver platter covers and padded tea cozies were necessary.

The kitchen development at Genesar has been worked out something like this. First, a separate frame kitchen dependency. Second, the present 19th-century kitchen erected on the foundations of the original and a brick "curtain" built simultaneously the full width of the main house. This "curtain" was roofed with a flat deck which sloped down toward the rear and crossed one of the tiny end-windows of the east gable-end. Two doors were cut in the east gable-end for access to the main house: one, downstairs, to shorten the food route to the dining room; the other, opening upon the flat deck from the second floor east bedroom. Why the owners needed to go out on the flat deck is a puzzle. In those days bathing beauties did not lie prone on flat decks for sun tan.

Third, the rear brick wall of the "curtain" was taken down, or it collapsed, and a new frame wall built which very much narrowed the passageway. The roof was changed to a pitched one. This is the "curtain" as it exists today.

By 1932, the year of our first visit, the Genesar tombstones had disappeared. The dilapidated smoke house with an interesting overhang and its rough battened door hanging upon strap-hinges still stood, a good bull's eye for Father Time. By now, all the outbuildings of Genesar have disappeared. But when the remaining bricks and timbers of the mansion-house have been finally carried away to make room for a real estate development, Maryland will possess only a few photographs and drawings of what was perhaps its most outstanding example of the Transitional Style of architecture and of what was one of the most unique early edifices of this nation.⁹

⁹ Though a private building, Genesar was placed high on a list of structures worthy of attention by The Regional Architectural Survey of Eastern Maryland Public and Semi-Public Buildings in 1951. In conclusion the Survey states, "This is one of the earlier houses in Maryland, and unless immediate steps are taken to preserve it, it will disappear within a few years." The Survey, sponsored by the Maryland Historical Society and the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities, was conducted by the architectural firm of Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn, Kehoe and Dean, of Boston.—*Ed.*

THE GREAT MARYLAND BARRENS

By WILLIAM B. MARYE¹

INTRODUCTION

THE subject of this article is that of a vast extent of land, the salient characteristics of which, when first observed by white people, were the extreme scarcity everywhere—more generally the absence—of timber; acres upon acres overgrown with nothing but saplings; other considerable areas, with bushes only; still others, denuded and bare. These characteristics seem to have been misinterpreted by many, and it is no wonder. They were generally attributed to a lack of fertility, if not a sterility, of the soil. But when, in the course of years, although tardily, the Barrens became fully settled, a medium to high degree of fertility was induced by the settlers, farmers, and planters, over wide stretches; the sapling lands produced timber trees, hardwood seedlings sprang up on the bushy grounds, and the Barrens vanished, at first from view, and then at last even from memory.²

Toward the end of the 18th century we read in the *Annapolis Maryland Gazette* and the *Baltimore American* advertisements of the sale of land in the Barrens, in which one of the chief advantages is the timber which is said to be growing thereon. Many an old farmer, born and "raised" within the area of the Barrens, would stand you down, in the face of irrefutable evi-

¹ The author owes a considerable debt of thanks to Mr. Malcolm W. Waring, Administrative Assistant, Land Office, Annapolis, Mr. John Hemphill, of Elkridge, Dr. Arthur G. Tracey, of Hampstead, and Mr. Samuel Mason, of Darlington, for valuable information.

On two previous occasions the author has taken notice, in print, of the Barrens. See "The Old Indian Road," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XV (1920), 109n, and "Patowmeck Above Ye Inhabitants," *ibid.*, XXX (1935), 120-121.

² As far as I am aware, there is only one relatively small section of the Barrens which, until recently, was called "the barrens," and that is the country between Mount Carmel and Hereford in Baltimore County. I obtained this information in 1915 from the late John Mays Little, of Parkton, a man intimately acquainted with his part of the county. Mr. Little told me that the country between these two places was characterized at that time by scrubby woods, but that there were already definite signs of improvement.

dence, that his part of the state never was, nor could have been, a "barrens."

At the outset, it seems wise to draw a distinction among types of barrens. The type with which we have to deal is not to be confused with that of the so-called "pine barrens," a term which, by the way, has long been in use.³ However, within our barrens, in their later stage at least, there were more or less extensive stretches of land overgrown with pines. Another type of barrens was that of a waste, like the Bare Hills, near Baltimore, where the soil is thin and the rocks, of volcanic origin, have strong mineral content.⁴ It should also be pointed out that our barrens, even where treeless, were not like prairies. They occupied, mostly, hilly country, and the valleys were not broad, like the valley of the Shenandoah.⁵

Extensive treeless spaces in the wilderness are noted by Thomas Pascall, a Quaker, who, writing from Pennsylvania to a friend in England, in a letter dated January 31, 1682/3, vouchsafed the following information:

I know a man together with two or three more, that happened upon a piece of Land of some Hundred acres, that is all cleare, without Trees,

³ An early occurrence of the term, "pine barrens," will be found in a certificate issued by Samuel Blunston to John Reynolds, July 18, 1737, authorizing him to take up 100 acres of land in the Cumberland Valley, "at a place called the pine Meadow amongst the pine Barrens," *Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania Publications*, XII [1933-35], 65. (Italics supplied.)

⁴ I have in mind the Black Barrens, an area situated west of Octoraro Creek, Lancaster Co., Pa., near the Maryland line. A similar area is that of the Mine Old Fields, subsequently mentioned.

⁵ We should say that the only true prairies which were to be found in Maryland in her primitive state, were the so called "Glades" of the Youghiogheny, Garrett County. Here was the favorite hunting ground of Meshach Browning, the Nimrod of Western Maryland. From the adjacent heights wolves might be seen stalking the deer in the tall grass. The fame of these rich prairies induced Lord Baltimore to cause a great proprietary manor to be laid out there in the year 1768. (Patent Records for Land, Liber I. B. No. D., f. 583). The manor was styled "Lord Baltimore His Manor in Allegany," and contained 17,784 acres. Adjacent to this manor was "Buck Bones," surveyed for Edward Lloyd and William Paca, 3 June, 1774, and containing 500 acres (*Ibid.*, f. 673). The survey calls for Macculoughs Pack Horse Road, "the first and only road now Cut through the place called Youghyogany Glades." This road ran diagonally across the Glades from the mouth of the Little Youghiogheny to the mouth of the Cheat River. Also in the Glades were the two thousand acres called "Thomas and Ann," surveyed for Thomas Johnson, 9 April, 1774. (Military Lots, Ledger A, 1-12506, f. 19.)

Not dissimilar to the Glades was the Shenandoah Valley. Kercheval, the historian of the Valley, who had his information from aged survivors of the early settlers of those parts, describes this valley, when it was first settled by white men, as presenting the aspect of "one vast prairie." (Samuel Kercheval, *History of the Valley of Virginia* [1850], pp. 44, 266).

Bushes, stumps, that may be Plowed without let, the farther a man goes in the Country the more such Land they find.⁶

The great Maryland barrens⁷ were by no means unique in their day either as to the characteristics we have named above, or as to their extent. The historian Rupp makes the following observations about the primitive condition of a great part of the Cumberland Valley in Pennsylvania:

It should be borne in mind that the region of country between Conoguinett and Yellow Breeches [Creeks], from the Susquehanna, to ten or twelve miles westward, was a *Barrens*; not a tree to be seen on a thousand acres.⁸

The early settlers of the Valley of Virginia found there an even vaster barrens. These "barrens," as they were called, were more properly a prairie. The land was more or less level, the soil deep and highly fertile; and the landscape, instead of being forbidding, as appears to have been the case with the great Maryland barrens, was amiable and inviting to a degree. Hugh Maxwell, of the U. S. Forestry Service, has written as follows of the Shenandoah Valley barrens:

An area now occupied in part by the counties of Frederick, Berkeley, and Jefferson was treeless. . . . The area of the treeless region in the Shenandoah Valley exceeded 1,000 square miles in one body. Grass covered the region, except for an occasional fringe of trees along the streams. . . .

This description fits the prairies of our West. Maxwell adds, that these same barrens extended across Maryland into Pennsylvania.⁹

Early references to the great Maryland barrens are few. What

⁶ A. C. Myers (ed.), *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware* (New York, 1912), p. 254.

⁷ The title of this article might have been: The Great Pennsylvania-Maryland Barrens. It should be borne in mind that the Maryland barrens made one with the York Barrens, which were situated in disputed territory, and later in York County, Pa.

⁸ I. Daniel Rupp, *History of Dauphin, Cumberland, Franklin, Bedford, Adams, and Perry Counties, Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, 1846), p. 447. (Italics in the original). Particular mention of these barrens will be found in "Notes from the Blunston Licenses," *Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania Publications*, XI, 181; XII, 63, 64. See also "Old Mother Cumberland," *Pennsylvania Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XXIV (1900), 22 ff.

⁹ "Use and Abuse of Forests by the Virginia Indians," *Wm. and Mary Quarterly*, Series 1, XIX (1910-11), 65.

is, perhaps, the earliest of all will be found in a published report of Richard Brightwell, Captain of Rangers on Potomac River, dated October 12, 1697. The captain reported that he and his men were accustomed to range from their fort or garrison (at the Little Falls of the Potomac)¹⁰ to the Sugar Lands, "being generally Stony Rocky land, near the River, all the way thither, and barrens backwards, but the Sugar Lands¹¹ extraordinary rich and continue soe for severall miles. . . ." ¹²

We wait two decades for other mention of the Barrens, and when we find them, the places where the Barrens were seen and noted are far away from the Sugar Lands, on the northern side of Deer Creek, in what is now Harford County. On May 2, 1717, there was surveyed for Isaac Butterworth a small tract of land called "Roses Green," which is described as situated on both the northern and the southern sides of Deer Creek, "beginning at five bounded white oaks and a gum standing in a piece of low ground on a turning of the said creek on the north side respecting a great barren hill on the other side of the creek *also Barrons to the northward. . . .*" ¹³

"Roses Green" lies about five miles north of Bel Air, between the mouth of Stout Bottle Branch and Sandy Hook, close to the latter. At this place Deer Creek makes a deep bend, the "turning of the creek" mentioned in the original certificate of survey.

On May 22, 1717, Col. William Holland, of Anne Arundel County, took up two hundred acres which he called "Miners Adventure."¹⁴ The certificate of survey describes the land as

¹⁰ William Marye, "The Baltimore County Garrison and the Old Garrison Roads," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XVI (1920), 109n.

¹¹ "Brightwell's Hunting Quarter," 1086 acres, surveyed for Richard Brightwell, August 29, 1695, is described as situated "about twenty miles above the [Little] falls of Potomack River on the land called the Sugar Land." "Pickleton's Rest," surveyed for Richard Pickleton, April 23, 1728, calls for a spring "that maketh into a run called Broad Run making into Potomack about two miles above the Suger Lands." This defines the upper limits of the Sugar Lands. "Partnership," surveyed for William Eltinge, March 1, 1731, calls for a bounded tree near a dry gulley, "that falleth into a branch called the Horse Pen Branch [still so called] which runneth through the Sugar Lands." The Sugar Lands gave their name to Sugarlands Hundred, one of the old political subdivisions of Montgomery County.

¹² *Archives of Maryland*, XXIII, 261. (Italics supplied.)

¹³ Land Office, Annapolis, Patent Records for Land, Liber I. D. No. A, f. 235. (Italics supplied.)

¹⁴ Rent Roll of Baltimore County, Calvert Papers No. 883, f. 280. (Italics supplied.)

lying and being "on ye North side of Deer Creek in ye Barrens Beginning at 14 Bo^d white oak saplins in a Cluster close by a Small Run Call^d Body Run, ye s^d Run descending into ye af^d Creek."

"Miners Adventure" lies between Ady and Cherry Hill, within the area long known by the name of the "Mine Old Fields."¹⁵ It lies to the westward of the Mine Branch, a stream identical with the Body Run of the original certificate, which rises near Street.¹⁶

Different sections of the Barrens had their own special names. In York County, Pennsylvania, they were known as the York Barrens. In Baltimore County they were called Gunpowder Barrens, or the Barrens of Baltimore. In the watershed of the Patapsco Falls they were styled the Patapsco Barrens. Elsewhere special names were not applied.

¹⁵ The area known as the "Mine Old Fields" still goes by that name. According to T. T. Wyson in *The Rocks of Deer Creek* (Baltimore, 1880), p. 58, it is an "elevated plateau of considerable extent, abounding in iron-ore, chrome and soapstone," which has never been cultivated, but in time past yielded ore in abundance. This plateau lies between Minefield, on the Maryland and Pennsylvania Railroad, and Deer Creek, taking in Cherry Hill. A tract of land called "Garden Spot," surveyed for Sarah Glaspin, March 20, 1741, containing ten acres, is described as situated in Baltimore Co., in the Reserve, "beginning at a bounded white oak on ye North side of Deer Creek between ye mine old field and ye creek." (Land Office, Annapolis, Unpatented Certificate No. 575, Baltimore Co.) In 1761 Robert Adair and Archibald Buchanan were awarded (by a commission appointed under a writ of *ad quod damnum*) 100 acres of land on a branch of Deer Creek called George Rigdon's Spring Branch, "near a place called the Mine Old Fields," for the purpose of erecting thereon a forge mill (Land Office, Annapolis, Chancery Proc., Liber B. T. No. 1, f. 105). There seems to be little reason to doubt that mining activities instituted by Col. Wm. Holland (d. 1732) on "Miner's Adventure" gave rise to the name of the Mine Old Fields. A tract of land surveyed for Francis Jenkins, March 2, 1740 (patented to him, June 12, 1742) is described as situated on the North side of Deer Creek, "beginning at a bounded white oak by a small branch descending into the said creek and to the southward of *Holland's Mines*." This place of beginning lies approximately southwest 3/16 of a mile from the beginning of "Miners Adventure," and about the same distance to the eastwards of the beginning of "Baker's Mistake" (surveyed, 1789), in the Mine Old Fields. It is not unlikely that Col. Holland sent out a prospector into the wilderness, or went there in person. "*Our woods are full of mine hunters*," wrote Philemon Lloyd to his "Co-Partners" from Wye River, July 22, 1722, Calvert Papers No. 1079, Md. Hist. Soc. (printed in *The Calvert Papers* [Baltimore, 1894], Fund Publication No. 34, p. 40). (Italics supplied.)

¹⁶ The mouth of the Mine Branch is 3½ miles below the Rocks of Deer Creek, and 2½ miles above Sandy Hook, in a straight line. The Mine Branch is mentioned in the certificates of survey of "Garland's Last Shift," 1741, and of "Billingsley's Enlargement," 1752. (Unpatented Certificates No.'s 576 and 188, Baltimore Co.)

THE BARRENS DESCRIBED BY EYE WITNESSES:

GENERAL DESCRIPTIONS

The barrens of central Maryland are described by the Hon. Philemon Lloyd in a letter addressed to his "Co-Partners" (unidentified), dated October 8, 1722.¹⁷ Lloyd was a well informed man, who undoubtedly knew whereof he spoke. He was a member of the Council from 1711 until his death in 1732. He was intimately acquainted with the back country and in 1721 prepared a map of the wilderness lying west of the Monocacy as far as the sources of the Potomac and its affluents. This map is styled "Potowmeck above ye Inhabitants."¹⁸ Here, then, was a trustworthy observer; he wrote in part as follows:

now, th^t we are about Lycencing our People, to make Remote Settlem^{ts}, we must likewise use the Proper Measures to protect them; *for the Lands next above our Settlem^{ts} upon the West side of the Shenandoah, and all along upon the west side of Baltimore Co^{ty}, are cutt off & separated from the Present Inhabited parts by large Barrens, many miles over; so th^t as yet, the settlers there can expect very Little Communication wth us; yet if they should be cutt off & Murthered by the Indians we must Insist upon satisfaction for the security of our present Outer Habitations; w^{ch} may Involve us in a fatall War.*

[And again:] this eastermost side of Monockasey, is the first place th^t will Naturally be planted, and thence up along the Line of 40, if we can but secure our People there, & th^t by the help of an Instrum^t we Can but find where or near About th^t Line of 40th Lyeth. But *from the Heads of Patapsco, Gunpowder & Bush Rivers, over to Monockasey,* is a Vast Body of Barrens; th^t is, what is called so, because there is no wood upon it; besides Vast Quantities of Rockey Barrens. If this Place would be seated, it would be a good Barrier unto the Province on th^t side, & doubt not, but it would in a few years, bring on the Planting of th^t other Body of Rich Lands, th^t Lyes something more to the Westward. . . .

More than thirty years later another eminent citizen of Maryland, Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis, who speculated in land on a truly grand scale, and, who, unquestionably, knew the Barrens at first hand, mentions them in a letter written about 1753 to his only son, Charles, later "Barrister" Carroll, of Mount Clare,

¹⁷ Calvert Papers No. 1080, Md. Hist. Soc. (printed in *The Calvert Papers* [Baltimore, 1894] Fund Publication No. 34, pp. 57-58). (Italics supplied.)

¹⁸ See William B. Marye, "Potowmeck Above Ye Inhabitants," *Md. Hist. Mag.* XXX (1935), 1-11, 114-137.

but at that time a student at the Middle Temple, London. The father is discoursing about the economic development of the Province:

about thirty miles from Navigable Water is a Range of barren dry Land without Timber about nine miles wide which keeps a Course about North East and South West parallel with the mountains *thro this province Virginia & Pennsylvania* but between that and the Mountains the lands mend and are Very good in Several parts.¹⁹

It should be noted that both Lloyd and Carroll attribute the "barrenness" of this great area to lack of fertility, at least by implication. The first named looked upon the Barrens as a rather formidable barrier between the settlers living to the eastward of them and those who might be disposed to settle upon lands situated farther to the west, which he took to be more fertile. Carroll says that west of the Barrens the lands "mend." The area once occupied by the Barrens is very well watered. Carroll calls it "dry," by which he must mean, lacking in humus. One says that there is "no wood" upon it; the other, that it is "without timber." Neither of these descriptions excludes the presence of the "sapling land," of which we shall find mention in particular descriptions. Neither one mentions the cause, which, according to later writers, underlay the Barrens, namely, fire, deliberately set by the Indians. Carroll may have seen more of sapling lands than Lloyd; for, whatever the origin of the Barrens, this barren land, in the course of the 18th century, undoubtedly (except where it was farmed or pastured) grew up in woods.

As to the alleged "dry" quality of land in the Barrens, which we have attributed to a lack of humus, it must have been due to repeated burning, if, as is maintained by Maxwell and others, fire was the underlying cause of the phenomenon. Where the destruction was total, we should expect erosion to follow, but seemingly there is no evidence to support this hypothesis. It is known that the two tidal rivers, Gunpowder and Patapsco, in their pristine state, had deep water up to their heads. The sources of the two principal streams which drained into these estuaries,

¹⁹ "Extracts from Account and Letter Books of Dr. Charles Carroll, of Annapolis," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXV (1930), 64. (Italics supplied.) I do not understand Dr. Carroll's "thirty miles," unless he means the outer limits of the Barrens; but of another "barrens" of equal magnitude there can not be any question.

the Great Falls of Gunpowder River and the Falls of Patapsco, lay far up in the Barrens. The alluvial deposits in Gunpowder River, which helped to make a dead town of Joppa, and the silting up of the Patapsco, date from historical times, and were the result of farming in the valleys of the two freshwater rivers. It is doubtful, therefore, if erosion ever got a strong hold on the Barrens. Coarse grass, principally sedge, must have covered the barest places, where there were neither saplings nor bushes.

PARTICULAR DESCRIPTIONS OF THE BARRENS

Notations as to the quality of the land surveyed are occasionally endorsed on the certificates of survey of lands taken up in the Barrens. Since these endorsements are few, and since each one of them makes a definite contribution to our knowledge of the aspects of different sections of the Barrens during their later phase, each must be mentioned in some detail:

The first of these notations we shall take up is that endorsed by James Calder, deputy surveyor for Baltimore County, on the certificate of survey of "Johns Barrens Enlarged," 477 acres, which was laid out for Abraham Jarrett, December 20, 1771.²⁰ It is a picture of desolation: "one half barrens the rest small saplings and bushes ²¹ soil thin."

²⁰ Recorded at the Land Office, Annapolis, in Patent Records for Land, Liber I. C. No. B., f. 434. We owe the discovery of this record to Mr. Waring. This land was taken up following an order issued by Lord Baltimore, Feb. 13, 1766, appointing Governor Sharpe, Hon. Daniel Dulany, and John Morton Jordan, Esq., a commission with power to dispose of his reserve lands and manors (*Archives of Maryland*, XXXII, 134-135). After the Revolution the Commissioners for the Sale of Confiscated British Property sold the land to Abraham Jarrett, who died, without having taken out a patent. October 10, 1787, his widow, Martha Jarrett, petitioned the Chancellor for a patent. According to her petition, "Johns Barrens Enlarged" then lay wholly in Harford Co. This tract is bounded by "Johns Forrest," surveyed for Richard Rhodes, Jr., March 2, 1750 (Unpatented Certificate No. 811, Baltimore Co.), which in turn is bounded by "Elizabeth's Delight," surveyed for William Sinkler, or Sinclair, Nov. 30, 1741 (Unpatented Certificate No. 475, Baltimore Co.). This certificate of survey calls for Fuller's Mine Branch. "Elizabeth's Delight" lies partly in Baltimore Co. and partly in Harford Co., at the head of the First Mine Run, which divides the Tenth District of Baltimore County from the Seventh District, and was formerly called Fuller's Mine Run, The Great Mine Run, or, simply, the Mine Run, and is not to be confused with the Harford Co. Mine Run. (Baltimore Co. Land Records, Liber T. K. No. 229, f. 1: Nathaniel Lytle to Christopher Slade, mortgage, March 20, 1833.)

²¹ Properly speaking, a sapling is a young hardwood timber tree, such as an oak or a hickory. By "bushes" we should understand not only the usual shrubs, but certain arborescent species, such as the sassafras and the persimmon. A young

"Johns Barrens Enlarged" is a survey of irregular outline, measuring about $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles from north to south, and about $1\frac{7}{8}$ miles in breadth. Its northern limits must be in the immediate neighborhood of Blackhorse. Its eastern limits come well within half a mile of Madonna. Its southern limits are close to a line drawn east from Shepperd. It lies in Harford County, west of the Little Falls of Gunpowder River, on both sides of the Old York Road from Blackhorse to Manor, which crosses the Little Falls about due east of Shepperd.

"Henderson's Inclosure," 245 acres, was surveyed, March 20, 1771, for Daniel Henderson.²² On the certificate of survey the following description is endorsed: "40 acres of barrens, the rest sapling land and thin soil." The survey calls for a ridge on the south side of Little Deer Creek. This endorsement was made by James Calder, surveyor for Baltimore County.

On the certificate of survey of "Pitt," laid out for Benjamin Rogers, October 25, 1770, James Calder has made the following endorsement:

On this survey is about 35 acres of glade that may be made into meadow and 200 acres of Bare Barrens on the rest partly scrubby wood & saplings there is some part of the Falls of Gunpowder included on one side of which there are high steep and Rocky Hills the soil on the east side is of a middling grade the Quantity is small the rest there and in many places very poor and stony.²³

Two advertisements of the sale of "Pitt," which appeared in the *Maryland Journal* of November 27, 1786, and February 12, 1787, respectively, give details concerning the situation of the land:

In Gunpowder Barrens; within two miles of the Upper York Road;²⁴ about 27 miles from Baltimore Town; five miles from "Benjamin Rogers Reserve"; divided by the Great Falls of Gunpowder River.

dogwood is not a "sapling," but, strange to say, is always a "tree," and so is a Judas or redbud. The sassafras occasionally grows into a stately tree, as witness the two large sassafras trees at the foot of the lawn in front of the Mansion House in Druid Hill Park, Baltimore.

²² Land Office, Annapolis, Unpatented Certificate No. 686, Baltimore Co. "Henderson's Inclosure" lay in the Reserve, and is now in Harford Co.

²³ Land Office, Annapolis, Patented Certificate No. 3859, Baltimore Co. "Pitt" was a resurvey on two small tracts of leased land, viz., "Rogers' Reserve" and "Hurst's Marsh," containing 105 acres in all.

²⁴ A branch of the York Road left the present York Road a short distance north of Hereford and crossed the Sixth District in a northwesterly direction.

"Pitt" lies on both sides of the West Branch of the Great Falls of Gunpowder River, in the Sixth District of Baltimore County, below Rockdale, and above the mouth of the Grave Run, about four miles south of the Mason and Dixon Line.²⁵

A tract of land containing 2519 acres was surveyed for Jonathan Plowman, October 24, 1770, by James Calder, and called "The Three Divisions."²⁶ The certificate of survey bears the following endorsement:

This Survey Contains Land of Different Qualities; on the south sides of the hills and the heads of Hollows soil is pretty good; on the Levels the soil is thin and Cold; Chesnut trees and Red oaks chiefly; about one fourth of the whole is Bare Barrens; there is about 80 acres of Marsh land that may be made into Meadow In general this land is not so good as hath been reported.

"The Three Divisions" lies on streams which flow into the west branch of the Great Falls of Gunpowder River above the Prettyboy Reservoir in what is now the Sixth District of Baltimore County. It comprised 2,220³/₄ acres of land which at that late date was still "vacant."²⁷

Another extensive tract of land in the Barrens was "Benjamin Rogers Reserve," which was laid out for Benjamin Rogers, December 1, 1770, and contained 1,135 acres.²⁸ The following description is endorsed on the certificate of survey:

On this survey there is about 50 acres of marsh & Gladly Ground, about

²⁵ G. M. Hopkins, *Atlas of Baltimore County* (Philadelphia, 1877), pp. 40, 41 (Sixth District) shows residences of the Gore family, owners of a considerable part of "Pitt." Charles Gore, in his will, dated December 7, 1837, left a life interest in 205 acres, part of "Pitt," then his "dwelling plantation," to his wife. (Wills, Baltimore Co., Liber 16, f. 428). April 19, 1845, Charles and Christian Gore, sons of Charles Gore, Sr., deceased, conveyed their interest in "Pitt" to their brother, Samuel Gore. (Baltimore Co. Land Records, Liber A. W. B. No. 352, f. 104.)

²⁶ Unpatented Certificate No. 1622, Baltimore Co.

²⁷ This survey has an extreme length of close to four and a quarter miles (1350 perches), measured from north to south. No stream or any recognizable landmark is called for in the survey, which was never patented, and which, therefore, can not be traced by means of deeds. However, the surveys of two small tracts of land, which were included within its bounds, call for small streams flowing into the Western Fork of the Main, or Great Falls, of Gunpowder River. These are: "Wheeler's Lot," surveyed for John Wheeler, April 16, 1761 (Unpatented Certificate No. 1714, Baltimore Co.); and "Hard Scuffle," surveyed for Trego Tracey, September 16, 1751. (Unpatented Certificate No. 661, Baltimore Co.) Thanks are due to Mr. Malcolm W. Waring for this information. This land may lie wholly on the north side of the Western Falls, or it may be divided by the Falls. Its southernmost part can not be farther north than Rockdale or Middletown, for if so, its northernmost part would lie in Pennsylvania.

²⁸ Land Office, Annapolis, Patented Certificate No. 558, Baltimore Co.

200 acres of sapling Land 300 acres of Bare Barrens the Rest small Bushes Soil of Both Bushy and barren Land is very thin and both Hilley, and Stoney, the soil of the Sapling Land is Middling, but Claimed by Gaypot and Bynian.²⁹

"Benjamin Rogers Reserve" was offered for sale in the *Maryland Journal*, February 5, 1782, November 7, 1783, and March 2, 1792. The land is described as situated 23 to 25 miles from Baltimore Town, in North Hundred (i. e., Northwest of a line drawn from the mouth of the Black Rock Run to the mouth of Bee Tree Run above Walker), in Gunpowder Barrens.³⁰ The first advertisement mentions the "plenty of timber" with which the land "abounds." The second qualifies this statement with the information that three hundred acres are cleared and fenced, and the residue "is in woods consisting of shingle and good rail timber."

Since there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of James Calder's description of this land as it was in 1770, it seems incredible that in the space of twelve years, 885 acres of bushes and bare barrens had produced any quantity of timber worth mentioning. Whatever timber was standing on the property in 1782, stood either on the former sapling land or in the meadow. Some of the sapling land may have been cleared, as this was deemed to be the best part of the estate, though only "middling" in quality. The point which we wish to make is this, that the sapling lands in the Barrens, if let alone, produced timber, just as cut over lands do, if spared the scourge of fire.

The situation of "Benjamin Rogers Reserve" is important as regards the limits of the Barrens in those parts. The land lay in Lord Baltimore's Reserve, but came pretty close to its western boundary. The third advertisement mentions the fact that it lies "near Richard Johns' Mill."³¹ The survey calls for a bounded tree standing near a small branch of the Black Rock Run. "Benjamin Rogers Reserve" lies almost entirely in the Fifth District of Baltimore Co. It is a tract of land which extends from the

²⁹ "Gaypot and Bynian": the author has searched for an explanation of these curious words but in vain.

³⁰ In August, 1787, the Court of Baltimore Co. appointed Jonathan Tipton overseer of roads "from Benjamin Rogers's Quarter by Jonathan Timton's across the Barrens to Anthony Nulls as laid out by sd Jonathan Tipton and Robert Lemmon." (Minutes of the Baltimore Co. Court, Liber W. G., 1787-1791.) "Benjamin Rogers's Quarter" may refer either to "Benjamin Rogers Reserve" or to "Pitt."

³¹ Not identified; perhaps, Dover Mill.

headwaters of Black Rock Run in a southwesterly direction, $2\frac{7}{8}$ miles, to within a mile, more or less, of the Baltimore-Hanover Road.³² It lies largely in the valley of the Piney Run.

Descriptions endorsed on the certificate of survey of a tract of land called "Castle Calder"³³ give us our most impressive picture of the Barrens. This land, surveyed for Captain James Calder,³⁴ May 6, 1771, contained 662 acres. It lies in the Seventh District of Baltimore County, on both sides of the Northern Prong of the Great Falls of Gunpowder River,³⁵ but mostly on the eastern side thereof, within $4\frac{1}{4}$ miles of the Pennsylvania Line, extending southwards from the bend of the Falls immediately to the east of Walker,³⁶ down nearly to Parkton. This land today is reported to be highly fertile and well wooded, and there seems to be no local tradition of its ever having been regarded as "barren."³⁷ Adjacent land is described as situated "in the Barrens."³⁸

³² "Charles's Luck," 175 acres, advertised for sale in the *Maryland Journal*, Nov. 24, 1786, adjoining Benjamin Rogers' Reserve, and situated on the Conewago Road (the Baltimore and Hanover Road).

³³ Land Office, Annapolis, Patented Certificate No. 962, Baltimore Co. Castle Calder lay in Lord Baltimore's Reserve.

³⁴ James Calder, one time Deputy Surveyor of Baltimore County, was a considerable landowner. According to a particular Tax List of Gunpowder Upper and Mine Run Hundreds, Baltimore Co., 1798 (Md. Hist. Soc.), he owned $3836\frac{3}{4}$ acres in those parts. These lands were mostly, if not entirely, in Mine Run Hundred.

³⁵ The Northern Prong of the Great Falls meets the Western Prong (the "prong" on which Prettyboy Dam is situated) at Blue Mont. About $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile above Walker, the Northern Prong is formed by the union of the "Little Falls" and Bee Tree Run. Both of these streams rise in Pennsylvania.

³⁶ Walker's Station, formerly Walker's Mill, on the Northern Prong of the Great Falls of Gunpowder River. The beginning of Castle Calder and that of a tract of leased land called "Rattlesnake Den," surveyed for Joseph Cole, is at one and the same place. It is described as situated on the west side of the Northern Prong of Gunpowder Falls, "about North 75 degrees West 94 perches from Abraham Scott's Mill." Scott's title has not been traced. The mill was probably the same as that later known as Walker's. Walker's Mill stood on 776 acres called "Curfmanstadt," which was taken up by Daniel Curfman, and sold to Daniel Walker on Feb. 8, 1808. Curfman's widow, Barbara, released her dower to Walker. (Baltimore Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 96, f. 552.) Daniel Walker had a log mill on this property by 1798. (Particular Tax List, Mine Run and Gunpowder Upper Hundreds, *loc. cit.*) On Griffiths' Map of Maryland, 1794, this mill is called "Kirkman's," a mistake for Curfman, of Kurfman.

³⁷ I had this information in 1915 from the late Mr. John Mays Little, of Parkton. Mr. Little, a descendant of Calder, expressed great surprise that Castle Calder could ever have been described as barren land. An attorney-at-law, he was a gentleman farmer and hunting man, who knew all that part of the county intimately. He told me that Castle Calder supported a heavy growth of timber.

³⁸ In the *Maryland Journal*, Nov. 20, 1793, Jesse Jarrett offers for sale 220 acres called "Jarrett's Intention," lying in Baltimore Co. "in the Barrens near Capt. James Calder and Daniel Kerfman," and described as "all wood". The land of Daniel Kurfman, or Curfman, "Curfmanstadt," adjoins "Castle Calder" on

The first endorsement is that of Edward Norris, of Joseph, the Surveyor. The others, all dated Baltimore Town, October 11, 1771, are those of three well informed gentlemen, who were called in to give their opinions:³⁹

[1] Their is in this survey about forty acres of poor Marsh and about two acres of scrubby woods and bushy ground the rest Verry poor bare Barrens.

[2] I do hereby certify that I have been thro the within mentioned survey Two different times and Took notice that their was a Pretty Large Marsh or Glade that might be made into meddow, the up land (all I saw) was Barrense, hilly and stony, except a very few acres. [signed] Jn^o. Merryman, Jun.

[3] I Do hereby Certify That I have Been throw the within Mentioned survey & Took Notice off the Quality of the Land, there is some Good Medow Ground for to make But the up Land is Poore hilly Barrance & much broke with stone & Verrey scarce of Timber. [signed] JaSterett

[4] I do hereby Certifie that I have been throw the best part of the within Mentioned survey and observed the Quality of the Land. There is about forty or fifty acres of glade commonly called medow ground, one third of which may be made into Tollerable good medow attended with great expense, being very flat and very difficult to take of the water. The up Land is exceedingly poor & much broke with stone and Little or no Timber of any sort. [Signed] Benjamin Rogers

(To be continued in the June number.)

the north, and runs up Gunpowder Falls from Walker a mile and a quarer. The resurvey, made May 4, 1801, contains 875 acres, and calls for Bee Tree Run. (Land Office, Annapolis, Patented Certificate No. 1321, Baltimore Co.) The northernmost part of this survey must be very near Bentley. The author is of the opinion that the Barrens faded out on Bee Tree Run, short of the Pennsylvania Line. However, in old surveys there is evidence of barrens in those parts. The following notes are taken from an old manuscript styled "Survey Book of Baltimore County in the Province of Maryland—1771 with the signatures of Land holders of that time," in the Peabody Library, Baltimore. This was unquestionably James Calder's own survey book, although it does not bear his signature: (1) an undated survey made for Gibbs & Mason, calls for Bee Tree Run and its affluent, Green Spring Branch. The lines were run so as to "throw out a quantity of Barrens on the North side of Aaron Gibbs Place." (2) A tract called "Poor Hill," surveyed, March 18, 1782, for Gibbs and Mason, calls for Bee Tree Run, the mouth of Green Spring Branch, and for *Lone Tree branch*. The names in italics are significant. (3) "Green Spring" (no date) calls for Green Spring Branch, and *Lone Tree Branch*, both affluents of Bee Tree Run. (4) "Maiden Hall" (not dated; but resurvey bears date, April 11, 1782): the survey calls for "the great marsh" on Bee Tree Run above Green Spring and the lines were run so as to exclude "all the bushy hill side," words suggestive of a common aspect of the Barrens. (Italics supplied.)

³⁹ Messrs. Merryman and Rogers were landowners, natives of the county. James Sterett had been a landowner in Lancaster County, Pa., as his father was before him. He came to Baltimore Town in 1761, and engaged in banking, brewing, and (with William Smith) in the shipping business.

WILLIAM BRETTON OF NEWTOWN NECK, ST. MARY'S COUNTY

By EDWIN W. BEITZELL ¹

WILLIAM BRETTON, Gentleman, arrived in Maryland on January 12, 1637, accompanied by his wife Mary, his son William, aged four, his wife's parents Thomas Nabbs and his wife, and three servants, John Mansell, Richard Harris, and James Jelfe.² He became Clerk of the Lower House of the Assembly, Clerk of the Council, and Clerk of the Provincial Court.³ He was also "Lord of the Manor" of Little Bretton,⁴ Planter, Burgess, Lawyer, Judge, Coroner, and a leading Roman Catholic layman. It is evident that Bretton was a man of some means since he transported a number of people, was well-educated, and was referred

¹ Since the days of my boyhood, when I accompanied my parents to services at St. Francis Xavier's Church on Newtown Neck, this spot in St. Mary's Co. has been a source of fascination to me. In good weather my father would take his family by motor boat across St. Clement's Bay to the services. In grandfather's day the trip was made by sailboat. Many of my mother's people, for a number of generations, also had gone there since the water afforded them an easy means of transportation. Indeed, until the time when automobiles became commonplace there were well-worn paths leading from landing places on both sides of the "Neck" made by families living across Bretton Bay and St. Clement's Bay who came to the church by boat. These families also utilized their boats to attend the annual "festival," a gala day in the life of the parish. As I grew older, I set out to learn everything possible about the "Neck," William Bretton, the original owner, his manor house, and the old church. The account printed here is a result of this interest.

² "Land Notes, 1634-1655," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, V (1910), 167, 369-370, VII (1912), 187.

³ D. M. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage* (Baltimore, 1953), pp. 51, 135, 137, 139.

⁴ D. M. Owings, "Private Manors: An Edited List," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXIII (1938), 308. "Little Bretton" was not a true manor, as Owings states, and is often confused with his Lordship's "Manor of Little Brittainne," of which it was a part. Although the bay to the east of Little Bretton is known as Bretton Bay it is probable that the original name was Brittainne, so named after his Lordship's Manor of Little Brittainne lying in Newtown Hundred. The words "Brittainne Bay" also appear in the Bretton deed, which is preserved in excellent condition in the Archives of the Society of Jesus, Maryland Province, at Woodstock College. However, both the words Bretton and Brittainne Bay are found in the early issues of the Archives of Maryland, in wills, deeds and other early records.

to as "Gentleman." From a review of the records it appears reasonable to assume that he was well known to the Calvert family and possibly was persuaded to come out to the Province to assume the Clerkships of the Council, the Assembly, and the Provincial Court. George Bretton, undoubtedly a relative, was transported in 1657 by Philip Calvert⁵ and probably made his home at Newtown since he and William Bretton jointly witnessed the will of John Lloyd on July 27, 1658.⁶

On January 25, 1637, William Bretton attended the General Assembly held at St. Mary's City.⁷ His first official act on record was the signing, as Clerk of the Council, of a copy of the order of the Lord Commissioners at Whitehall England, dated April 4, 1638, in the matter of Claiborne's petition regarding the Kent Island dispute with Lord Baltimore.⁸ Although it is believed that he was functioning at the same time (and probably earlier) as Clerk of the Assembly and the Provincial Court it was not until October 12, 1640, that his signature appears on a Proclamation of the House of the Assembly as Clerk.⁹ He made a number of appearances in the Provincial Court between January 25, 1637, and May 7, 1647, but it was not until this latter date that there is any indication that he is an official of the Court. On this date he recorded a bill for Edmond Smith. Subsequently, he signs as "Clk," is mentioned as "Register of the Court" on July 28, 1647, and "Clarke of the Court" on August 26, 1647.¹⁰ It is interesting to note that Dr. William Hand Browne states that Liber Z covering the period December 30, 1637, to July 23, 1644, "is written in the court or record hand of the 17th century, and the writing, with the exception of the Inventory of May 24, 1639, p. 67, is identical throughout."¹¹ Dr. Browne comments that "all the business of the Province seems to have been recorded in this book up to October, 1642." He states also that it is probably the second book of records and the earliest *original* record book of the Province. Likewise, Dr. Browne comments that Liber P. R., an *original* record, covering the period August 2, 1642, to February

⁵ "Early Settlers List," Md. Hist. Soc.

⁶ Jane Baldwin (comp.), *Maryland Calendar of Wills*, I, 29.

⁷ *Archives of Maryland*, I, 2.

⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 73.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 90.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, 309-310, 323-324.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I, "Calendar of State Archives," xiv. Italics supplied.

12, 1644/5 "is written throughout in one hand, which much resembles that of Z, though sometimes more minute."¹² Thus it seems reasonable to assume that Bretton was Clerk of the Assembly, Council, and Provincial Court beginning January, 1637. While it cannot be said, in the strict sense, that Bretton was the "first" Clerk of the Province it might reasonably be said that he was the "first Clerk of record," since apparently no records of Provincial proceedings prior to 1637 have survived.

On April 16, 1649, Bretton turned over his record books as Clerk of the Council to Thomas Hatton, Secretary of the Province.¹³ His long service as Clerk of the Lower House of the Assembly ended in May, 1666, when he was paid 2500 pounds of tobacco for his services during that session.¹⁴ His services as Clerk of the Provincial Court appear to have terminated in 1663 and in the same year he was appointed as a Commissioner of the Peace at Newtown, with reappointments until 1669.¹⁵ In this latter year Bretton was appointed Coroner of St. Mary's County and does not appear again in the published records of the County after this year.¹⁶

The patent establishing the "Manor" of Little Bretton in Newtown Hundred states that William Bretton was granted

All that neck of land lying in Potowmeck River near over agt Heron Island and bounding on the South with the sd Potowmeck River on the west by St Clements Bay on the east with a Great Bay called Brittain Bay and on the North with a line drawne crosse the woods from St. Clements Bay unto the head of a little Creeke in Brittain Bay called St Nicholas Creeke where now goeth the hedge of the Said Willm Bretton the Said Necke containing in the whole Seven hundred & fifty acres or thereabouts To bee holden of vs & or heyres as of or Mannor of Little Brittain in free & common soccage by ffealty only for all services Guyen att St Maries this Tenth day of July in the yeare of our Lord 1640.¹⁷

Bretton apparently lost little time in settling on his land because it is mentioned in the patent and also in the survey dated

¹² *Ibid.*, I, xvi. Italics supplied.

¹³ *Ibid.*, III, 230.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 151.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, XLIX, 199, 202, 210, 565, 571; III, 503, 540, 553; V, 33.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, LVII, 597, 609.

¹⁷ File 100½Z, Archives of the Society of Jesus, Maryland Province, Woodstock College. This file also contains a second deed dated Jan. 12, 1658, for 100 additional acres ("Bretton's Outlet") taken up by Bretton, and the deed signed by Temperance and William Bretton transferring ownership of Little Bretton to Rev. Henry Warren, S. J., in 1668 for 40,000 pounds of tobacco.

June 29, 1640, that part of the boundary is "where now goeth the hedge of the Said Willm Bretton."¹⁸ He also represented himself in the Provincial Court on August 3, 1642, as of "Little Bretton."¹⁹ On November 1, 1643, Bretton witnessed an agreement between Cornelius Canedy, a brickmaker, and Thomas Gerard whereby Canedy agreed to make brick for Gerard for a period of three years,²⁰ and it is possible that Canedy had completed a similar contract with Bretton since there is plenty of good brick clay in the "Neck."

While proof is still lacking, it is believed that Bretton built the "manor" house originally of one and one-half stories, soon after taking up his land. When the "Manor" was sold to the Jesuits in 1668 the deed conveyed title to the "Edifices & buildings," as well as the land. No evidence has been found in the Jesuit archives at Woodstock College to indicate that the original Bretton house at Newtown was destroyed at any time, although the account books as far back as 1751 show entries for repairs and upkeep. The first sizable expenditure noted was in 1816 when Rev. Leonard Edelen, S. J., added a half-story to the house. There is, however, an entry dated September, 1788, in one of the Newtown ledgers for "makeing and burning 60,000 bricks" and also payments to "Negro James, bricklayer,"²¹ but there is no indication as to what was built or repaired. If the house was destroyed by fire or by the British during the Revolutionary War, no mention of the fact has been found. Probably the bricks were used for repairs or for barns and other outbuildings. Old ledgers kept by the Jesuits contain many references to the Newtown "factory." This term is not explained in any way but is presumed to refer to such activities as the blacksmith shop, the weaving rooms, the stables for their blooded horses, the operation of the windmill for grinding grain, and the like. One entry notes that the 57,000 brick used by Father Edelen when adding the half-story to the house in 1816 cost him a total of \$88.50.

¹⁸ "Land Notes, 1634-1655," *op. cit.*, V (1910), 370.

¹⁹ *Archives of Maryland*, IV, 121.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, X, 213-214.

²¹ See Note 17; also Files 2N, 6, 171B, 171D, and 171F.

"Little Bretton," now comprised of some 750 acres of land in Newtown Hundred, is a beautiful and rich neck of farm land reaching out to the Potomac River between Bretton Bay and St. Mary's County. As the name Newtown implies, it was the first village opened up after the Maryland colonists had settled at St. Mary's City, and it grew rapidly in size and importance.

It appears likely that Rev. Thomas Copley, S. J., who may have come out to Maryland at the same time as Bretton since he also was summoned to the Assembly²² of January 25, 1637, was the first missionary to serve the people of Newtown for we find mention of him being at the head of St. Clement's Bay where he gathered his flock at the home of Luke Gardiner.²³ In addition to Luke Gardiner and William Bretton other residents of Newtown prior to 1670 mentioned in the *Archives of Maryland* are William Assiter, Richard Bancks, Dr. Luke Barber, Thomas Bassett, Ralph and Walter Beane, Joseph Cadle, Thomas Carpenter, Robert and William Cole, Thomas Conant, Edward Cotten, John Dandy, Thomas Diniard, William Evans, Henry Fox, John Greenway, John Greenwell, Walter Guest, Walter Hall, John Hammond, Barnaby and Thomas Jackson, John Jarboe, Robert Joyner, Philip Land, James Longworth, Richard Lloyd, Charles Maynard, John Medley, Robert Newchant, John Nunn, Christopher Oldfield, Walter Peake (Pakes), James Pettison, Bartholomew and Thomas Phillips, John Pile, George Reynolds, Paul Sympson, William Thompson, Robert Tutley, Francis Van Enden, Zachary Wade, and William Whittle.²⁴

The St. Mary's County Court was established at Newtown in 1644, and the Court sessions were held at the Inn of John Hammond for some years.²⁵ Although the records prior to the early 1800s have been destroyed by fire many references to this Court are found in the records of the Provincial Court. Known Commissioners of the Peace between 1654 and 1670 who were residents of Newtown include Richard Bancks, Dr. Luke Barber,

²² *Archives of Maryland*, I, 2. (See author's article, "Thomas Copley, Gentleman," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVII [Sept., 1952], 209-223.—Ed.)

²³ *Ibid.*, LVII, liv; also Rev. Wm. P. Treacy, *Old Catholic Maryland and Its Jesuit Missionaries* (1889), p. 59.

²⁴ *Archives of Maryland*, IV, 316, 371, 428, 502, 542; X, 13, 28, 29, 53, 91, 119, 141, 153, 190, 258, 321, 355, 544; LI, 28, 43, 46, 56, 62, 101, 126, 255, 522, 552; XLIX, 20, 54, 277, 540; LVII, 103, 145, 212, 228.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, LIII, xii; I, 232; X, 410.

Bretton, Col. William Evans, Luke Gardiner, John Jarboe, James Longworth, Richard Lloyd, and Thomas Matthews.²⁶

Bretton is recorded in 1637 as being of St. Georges Hundred,²⁷ but on December 9, 1640, he complained to the Council that the Indians "have done him much spoil in his Swine" in St. Clements Hundred.²⁸ Apparently his home in Newtown Hundred was not completed until sometime in 1642 and on August 3, 1642, he is recorded as "William Bretton of little Bretton gent."²⁹ In addition to his important duties as Clerk of the Province he was given many other assignments. On January 19, 1646, he was commissioned to investigate the activities of Ralph Beane and "to Seize and bring to St. Inigo's ffort all wines and Hottwaters imported by the Said Ralph Beane" in St. Clement's or Newtown Hundred.³⁰ On January 27, 1647, he was made clerk of a special Committee appointed by the Governor to draw up a bill for the keeping of a garrison "att Cedar Poynt."³¹ The following day although he was Clerk of the Assembly he joined the members of the Assembly (representing "four voyces"), in the famous protest that the laws of the previous Assembly "were not lawfully enacted for tht noe summons [was] issued out to all the Inhabts whereby their appearance was requyred by lawful authority."³² His neighbor and friend Walter Peake (Pakes) of Newtown was a member of this Assembly. On March 1, 1647, he was appointed by the Governor as a member of a special committee to deal with the Scouts in the defense of the Province.³³ At various dates Bretton acted as attorney for William Lewis, Thomas Gerard, Margaret Brent, and James Neale in the Provincial Court.³⁴ On April 16, 1649, he joined with Walter Peake in furnishing bond in the amount of fifty thousand pounds of tobacco that Philip Land, High Sheriff of St. Mary's County, would justly execute his office.³⁵ Five days later, on April 21, 1649, the famous "Toleration Act" (An Act Concerning Re-

²⁶ *Ibid.*, XLI, 340, 370, 476, 538, 575.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, 8.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 95, 96.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 121.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 177.

³¹ *Ibid.*, I, 219.

³² *Ibid.*, I, 220.

³³ *Ibid.*, I, 227.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 431, 477, 492, 529, 532; X, 105, 208; XLI, 237.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 482.

ligion) was passed; both Bretton and Peake were members of this Assembly. Other residents of Newtown who were members of this Assembly were John Pile and Lt. Richard Bancks.³⁶

About 1653 Ralph Crouch, who later joined the Society of Jesus as a Lay-Brother, established a school at Newtown. This was made possible through a provision in the will of Edward Cotten,³⁷ which was probated on April 23, 1653, leaving personalty for the establishment of a school at Newtown at the discretion of the executors. In a letter dated September 4, 1662, Crouch stated "I affirme boldly allsoe that on my part I did (as appeared to all the neighbors) as much as lay in mee, fulfill the will of the Deceased [Cotten], in remoueing my teaching of schoole to the New Towne: & there was ready some yeares to teach, eyther Protestant or Catholikes. . . ." This school was in operation in 1662 as brought out in the trial of Rev. Francis Fitzherbert, S. J.,³⁸ and continued apparently at least until 1667 for in June of that year, Luke Gardiner filed an accounting of the estate of Robert Cole, of Newtown, which contained an item "To the Childrens Schooling, 2150 lbs. tob."³⁹

On November 10, 1661, William Bretton, "with the hearty good liking of my dearely beloved wife Temperance Bretton," gave an acre and a half of Little Bretton that their neighbors might have land to erect a church and establish a cemetery.⁴⁰ It is probable that this ground was originally the site of the private burial lot of the Bretton family since Mary Bretton, the first wife of William, had died some time prior to 1650. The cemetery is still in use. The date the first church was built at Newtown is clearly established in the record of the settling of the estate of Robert Cole, a carpenter, of Newtown. Cole's will was dated April 2, 1662, and was probated September 8, 1663.⁴¹ His estate was administered by Luke Gardiner for the benefit of the orphan children and an accounting filed in court contained the following items:

³⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 237; IV, 308, 428; X, 119, 355.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, XLIX, 20; Baldwin, *op. cit.*, I, 7. Crouch previously had a school at St. Inigoes (St. Mary's City) which had been made possible by a bequest of Dr. Henry Hooper. See *Archives of Maryland*, X, 11, and Baldwin, *op. cit.*, I, 4.

³⁸ *Archives of Maryland*, XLI, 566-567.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, LVII, 206.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, XLI, 531.

⁴¹ Baldwin, *op. cit.*, I, 25.

Debit — To Church Leavies	250 lb. Tob.
Credit — To the building of the church	532 lb. Tob. ⁴²

Since Cole died in 1663, apparently he had worked on the church in 1662. A later confirmation is contained in a deed December 1, 1666, whereby Thomas Covant agreed to make certain payments to George Reynolds "at the abode of him the said George Reynolds neare the Church or Chappell in Brettons."⁴³ The church, a wooden structure,⁴⁴ was located within the boundaries of the cemetery, when in the Summer of 1948 members of the Jarboe family were attempting to locate the burial plot of one of their ancestors who, according to an ancient family record, was buried in the cemetery a short distance from the steps of the church.

Records of the Bretton family are meager. After the death of his first wife, Mary Nabbs, William Bretton married Mrs. Temperance Jay of Virginia. The wedding probably occurred in 1650 or 1651.⁴⁵ The only mention of Bretton's son William has been noted previously when his father claimed land for transporting him from England. Since he does not again appear in the records, it is probable that he died before reaching manhood. The only other child found in the records is a daughter Mary, who married William Thompson of Newtown. Thompson died in January 1660, his wife Mary was named executrix, his father-in-law, William Bretton, was named administrator and the children (unnamed) were the sole legatees.⁴⁶

In practically all accounts concerning William Bretton there is a story to the effect that he died a pauper and that his widow and children became objects of public charity. The writer believes this story is erroneous. This misinformation apparently is based on a statement contained in Ralph Crouch's letter, presented by Rev. Francis Fitzherbert, S. J., to the Provincial Court, which reads "... There was gyuen to Mr. Brettons sonne & Daughter an almes they being in Extremitie of wants. . . ." ⁴⁷ The alms

⁴² *Archives of Maryland*, LVII, 206.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, LVII, 209.

⁴⁴ W. S. Perry, *Papers Relating to the History of the Church in Maryland, 1694-1775* (1878), pp. 20-23.

⁴⁵ "Early Settlers List," *loc. cit.* *Archives of Maryland*, X, 41, 231. Westmoreland Co. Court Records, Montross, Va., deed signed by William and Temperance Bretton, dated March 28, 1655, witnessed by Thomas Gerard (Deeds and Wills Book No. 1.)

⁴⁶ Baldwin, *op. cit.*, I, 23.

⁴⁷ *Archives of Maryland*, XLIX, 20.

were given sometime between 1653 when Crouch moved up to Newtown and 1659 when he returned to England.⁴⁸ By these dates Bretton's son, if living, would have been between 20 and 26 years of age. His daughter was a widow in 1660 with several children. Bretton was Clerk of both the Assembly and the Provincial Court during this period and a prominent and influential land holder. He gave land for the church and cemetery in 1661 and sold his estate in 1668 for 40,000 pounds of tobacco. There are no Provincial Court records that indicate any serious financial difficulty at any time. William Bretton was living in 1672 and Temperance as late as 1674. In view of these facts it is evident that Crouch erred in the name or was referring to another family of the same name. In the list of early Maryland settlers there are a number of Brettons (with variations in the spelling of the name) recorded who came to Maryland.

It is evident that both William and Temperance Bretton were devout Roman Catholics and were close to the Jesuit Fathers as indicated by their gift of land for the church and the sale of their "Manor" to provide a more central Catholic foundation at Newtown. Bretton got himself in considerable difficulty for calling Robert Burle (a Protestant) a "ffactions fellow uppon a motion which the sd Burle made in this howse, Concerning the settling of Ministers in Every County of this Province," and was obliged to make a public apology before the Assembly.⁴⁹ Subsequently, Bretton complained to the authorities that Robert Pennywell had broken the glass windows of the Chapel at St. Mary's City.⁵⁰

Beginning in 1669 the only records found concerning William Bretton are found in the proceedings of the Charles County Court.⁵¹ He was a testator in 1671 to the wills of James Lindsey and George Mainwaring both of Charles County⁵² and transacted various items of business in the Charles County Court up to March 10, 1672. Temperance Bretton gave testimony at a Court held at St. Johns on September 18, 1674⁵³ The following item also was found in the Charles County records:

⁴⁸ Treacy, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

⁴⁹ *Archives of Maryland*, II, 86.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 610.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, LX, 215, 229, 230, 250, 260, 302, 396, 468.

⁵² Baldwin, *op. cit.*, I, 61, 62.

⁵³ Liber 4A, f. 52, Charles Co. Court Records, La Plata.

William Thompson ye son of William and Mary Thompson of St. Mary's County, (she being ye daughter of William Bretton of St. Mary's County) was Joyned in ye state of Holy Matrimony with Victoria Matthews ye daughter of Thomas and Jane Matthews of Charles County ye 11 day of April in ye year of our lord 1681.⁵⁴

This would seem to indicate that Bretton and his daughter Mary were living in St. Mary's County in 1681. It is the writer's theory, however, that Bretton moved to Charles County shortly after selling his "Manor" at Newtown in 1668, and died there some time in 1672 when he ceased to appear at the County Court. There are many small items that seem to point that way but a diligent search of the Charles County records has failed to substantiate this theory. The record of Bretton's will or an administrator's account apparently have been lost and we may never learn the final answer.

In his many years of public service Bretton was censored once for intemperate language⁵⁵ and on another occasion for indiscreet speech.⁵⁶ However, two such incidents in a lifetime of service surely should not mar his excellent record. William Bretton's long record of public service in the difficult early years of the Province speak well for him. There can be no doubt that he was an able man who performed faithful service.

⁵⁴ Liber Q, No. 1, f. 8, *ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Archives of Maryland*, II, 86.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 532.

REVOLUTIONARY MAIL BAG: GOVERNOR THOMAS SIM LEE'S CORRESPONDENCE

PART V

Edited by HELEN LEE PEABODY

(Continued from Vol. XLIX, No. 4, December, 1954, p. 331)

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE¹
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Holt's forge, 1st Sept. 1781.
3 o'clock P. M.

We are just going, my dear Governor, to begin the Campaign. Cornwallis is at York and Gloster; General Washington with the French troops and a large attachment from the American Army at, or near, the head of Elk; Count de Grasse in the Bay; and some of his frigates in James river. The armament is powerful in ships and land forces. I will not check your rejoicings on this happy event. It will only be necessary for us to remember that the stay of the fleet is to be very short. Do not let this be printed.

Adieu,

James McHenry.

His Excellency

Gov. Lee.

Count Barrass is also coming from Rhode Island with his squadron and the troops left on the Island.


CIRCULAR TO THE COMISSARIES OF THE SEVERAL COUNTIES
(Hall of Records, Annapolis)


[September 5, 1781]

Yesterday Evening we received certain Intelligence by a French Cutter which arrived at Baltimore Town, that the French Fleet consisting of 28

¹ Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, p. 60.

² Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 603.

Ships of the Line and 4 Frigates came into our Bay on the 26th ult^o and had landed 3000 Troops in Virginia. The Intelligence is confirmed as to the Arrival of the Fleet, by a Letter from Virginia from one of the Marquis Fayette's Family. There never has been a Time which required the Exertions of the State more than the present. The Fate of Lord Cornwallis and his Army will in a great Measure, depend upon them. Relying therefore on your Patriotizm Zeal and Activity, we trust you will do every Thing in your Power to procure the Cattle heretofore ordered. Not a Moment is to be lost and to enable you to act with more Facility, and to ease the Inhabitants we have sent you  £ to pay, in Part for the Cattle, and you may inform the Persons of whom you get them, that the Residue shall be paid as soon as sufficient Subscriptions shall be received on which the Money is to issue. If you cannot procure the whole of the Cattle by Purchase and should meet with any Resistance or Difficulties in collecting them by seizure, you may employ Persons to assist you, and call on the Lieutenant of your County whom we have directed to order out as many of the Light Horse Militia to aid you in the Execution of this Order, as will be necessary.

 Money sent to each County:

To Somerset £ 1700 to Worcester 1700£ to Dorchester 1100£ to Talbot 950£ to Caroline 350£ to Queen Anns 950£ to Kent 800£ to Cecil 950£ to Harford 800£ to Baltimore 1100£ to Ann Arundel 500£ to Prince Georges 500£ to Charles 500£ to Saint Mary's 500£ to Calvert 500£ to Montgomery 800£ to Frederick 1100£ and to Washington 800£.

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE ^a
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Williamsburg
9th Septr. 1781.

My dear Sir:

The Marquiss is informed, but not officially, that on the 5th inst. Admiral Hood ^a made his appearance off the Cape with fourteen ships of the line, upon which the Count de Grasse gave him chase with twenty-two. In clearing the Cape, the Count was to leeward, but four of his best sailing ships got up with the English, and sustained an action of an hour against ten before they could be supported. At last ten others joined, when the engagement became heavy, incessant, and general till night. The British fleet retreated, and the French fleet were seen in close pursuit as long as the light would indulge observation. Col. Banister, ^b who gives this intelligence, says it is from an acquaintance of character, who was an eye-witness to the action from half past 3 o'clock till night. We expect soon to hear the event, and of the junction of Count Barrass's

^a Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, p. 61.

^b Sir Samuel Hood (1762-1814).

^c Probably Lt. Col. John Banister (d. 1787), of Virginia.

squadron, which sailed sometime since from Rhode Island. Every new hour, at this period, becomes more important than the last. There is much to hope, but we are not without something to fear. Adieu.

James McHenry.

His Excellency

Governor Lee.

To be forwarded by the chain of express.

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE ⁶
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Williamsburg
14th Sept. 1781.

My dear Sir:

As we have no account of the return of the fleet, nor anything very interesting from his Lordship save that his works must soon render him invisible, I will tell your excellency what General Greene ⁷ was doing on the 26th of last month. He was then on his march to Fridays ferry, collecting the militia, in order to give the enemy battle. I shall only add another paragraph from Gen. Greene's letter. "We have intercepted a great many of the enemy's letters. Those from Virginia and Charlestown mentioned Gen. Leslie's ⁸ coming to take the command in this quarter, which induces me to believe Lord Cornwallis either expects to be made Commander-in-Chief or has further operations in contemplation in Virginia or Maryland. One of the letters mentions an embarkation of three thousand troops for Baltimore."

I have the honor to be your Excellency's most obst.

James McHenry.

His Excellency

Gov. Lee

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE ⁹
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Williamsburg,
15th Sept. 1781

Everything, my dear Sir, is as it should be. Yesterday morning his Excellency the General arrived in camp, and early this morning we had the account of the return of the Count de Grasse, accompanied by the Rhode Island fleet. The action mentioned to you was of very little consequence, and yet the French lost five or six officers.

⁶ Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, p. 62.

⁷ Nathanael Greene (1742-1786).

⁸ Alexander Leslie, of the British Army.

⁹ Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, p. 63.

Admirals Graves¹⁰ and Hood displayed twenty ships of the line, and the Count de Grasse only twenty-two, having left the other six for the protection of the Bay. The English saved themselves, as it is said we have sometimes done, by running away.

Count de Grasse brought in with them the Iris and the Richmond, which he found cruising on the Capes.

So far, our affairs assume the most prosperous aspect, but when we reflect that War is like an April day, it will temper our mind to disappointment; notwithstanding, there has been no enterprize of ours attended with so happy and promising a combination of circumstances.

Respectfully and full of attachment, I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most Obst.

James McHenry

His Excellency
Gov. Lee

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO THOMAS SIM LEE¹¹
(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

Head Quarters Williamsburgh
Sept. 15, 1781

Sir,

Your Excellency has been acquainted, that on Information of the Sailg. of the Fleet from the Capes, I had given Orders to the Troops which were embarked to stop the Proceeding.

I am now happy to inform your Excellency, that the Count de Grasse has returned to his former Station at Camp, having driven the British fleet from the Coasts, formed a Junction with the Squadron of Count de Barras, and captured two British Frigates; the Bay being thus secure, I have given Orders for the Troops to proceed with all possible Dispatch to the Point of Operations.

I am distressed, my Dear Sir, to find on my Arrival, that the Supplies for the Army collectg here are not in the desirable Train, that could be wished; they have already experienced Want of Provisions, and are greatly apprehensive for the Prospect in future, particularly with Articles of Bread.

All the Flour within your Reach, should be immediately forwarded down, which may I think be speedily done, now that the Navigation of the Bay is secured.

I beg, Sir, that not a moment be lost in furnishg us with every Supply within your Power; happily our Prospects of Success are most promising, if the Fleet will remain with us; if we are not Wanting in our own Exertions.

¹⁰ Baron Thomas Graves (ca. 1725-1802).

¹¹ Printed in Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XXIII, 115-116.

An Army cannot be kept together without Supplies; if these fail us, our Operations must cease, and all our high Hopes Will Vanish into Disappointment and Disgrace.

With great regard and Esteem

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's Most Ob. Ser^t—

G. Washington

P. S. If your Excellency can assist me in procuring some Axes or Hatchets and Intrenching Tools of all kinds, it will be a great Advantage. We shall have much occasion for tools of this sort, and I find almost a Total want here, it will be difficult to make a Collection from a small Compass.

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE ¹²
(T. S. Lee Collection)

15th Sept. 1781.

My dear Sir:

Let me add a line to what I wrote your Excellency this morning. General Washington has sent an express to the troops embarked, and those at Annapolis and Baltimore, by water, to tell them that the Bay is clear and to hasten their sailing. If it has not arrived, it might not be improper to convey this information to the Commanding Officer, that no time may be lost, where time is so very precious.

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most obst.

James McHenry.

His Excellency
Gov. Lee

THOMAS SIM LEE TO THOMAS NELSON ¹³
(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Sept. 21st 1781

Annapolis Friday Noon
In Council

Sir:

This Moment, Major General the Baron Viomeniel completed the Embarkation of the French Troops under his Command, destined for Head Quarters in Virginia; Part of their Baggage only goes by Water, the Remainder is sent by Land.

¹² Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, p. 64.

¹³ Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 621. Thomas Nelson (1738-1789) served as Governor of Virginia in 1781.

Apprehensive of danger from the Enemy after the Waggon pass Fredericksburg, the Baron desired me to solicit your Excellency to afford Guards of Militia for its Protection from thence to Williamsburg. The Baggage will be at Fredericksburg about the 26th of this Month, and at Head Quarters, if no accident happens, the first of next.

With sentiments of very great
personal respect and Esteem

I have the honor to be
etc. etc.

Tho: S. Lee

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE ¹⁴
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Camp before York
2d October, 1781

My dear Sir:

Your congratulations are without compliment, and this makes them with me of the last value.¹⁵ I should thank you for a thousand things in which your services must have been active; but I will do what is better in itself; I will endeavor to deserve your good will and friendship.

Let me refer you to Col. Forrest for news. I have only to add, that we have two small works in forwardness—and that the enemy have fired and continue to fire on them from their batteries, but have not killed us four men. Perhaps we shall begin upon our trenches tomorrow night.

The French fleet remain in the Bay and do not intend going out before we have closed the siege.

Affectionately and sincerely I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most obst.

James McHenry

His Excellency
Gov. Lee

¹⁴ Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 64-65.

¹⁵ Governor Lee's letter to McHenry not located. Apparently the Governor had congratulated him on his election (on September 17) to the State Senate; see B. C. Steiner, *Life and Correspondence of James McHenry* (Cleveland, 1907), p. 41, as well as the next McHenry letter.

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE ¹⁶
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Camp before York,
3d October, 1781.

I have sent you, my dear Sir, an express with the news, but as another opportunity offers, and as Col. Forrest thought a letter necessary respecting my election as Senator, I have given the second. All this, however, is giving you a great deal of trouble, but I know you will not be displeased. We have not heard from General Greene since his victory of Sept. 8th. You know that it was obstinate and bloody; that he drove the enemy four miles—that he took between three and four hundred prisoners—that nothing could exceed the bravery of the Maryland and Virginia troops—that all his troops behaved well—and that he was taking measures to oblige the enemy to leave their position at the Brick house at the Eaton springs, or to force them to surrender in it. If we are successful in this quarter, we may then talk of the gulph from which we have been snatched.

Very sincerely, I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most obst.

James McHenry

His Excellency
Gov. Lee

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE ¹⁷
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Camp before York.
6th October 1781

My dear Sir,

I have not a moment to spare, and therefore inclose you General Greene's private detail of his last action, because I know there are passages in it which must be highly gratifying to your Excellency.

Tonight we begin to work upon our first parallel. This siege will be a very anxious business.

The Duke's legion has had a little affair with Col. Tarleton on the

¹⁶ Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 65-66.

¹⁷ Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 66-67.

Gloster side. The Duke ¹⁸ drove him into Gloster; killed and wounded about fifty of his men, with the loss of two killed and eleven wounded.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest attachment,

Your Excellency's most obst.

James McHenry

His Excellency
Gov. Lee

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE ¹⁹
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Camp before York
9th Oct. 1781

My dear Sir:

I know your anxiety and I attempt to lessen it by every opportunity. I think I have told you that we opened our trenches between the 6th and 7th. The first parallel is nearly completed, and some batteries will be in readiness to play upon the enemy's works this afternoon.

It was originally intended to wait until eighty pieces of cannon and mortars could be brought to operate, but a better acquaintance with circumstances has changed this plan for the number we have at present prepared; these may be about twenty.

As yet, my Lord has scarcely disturbed us, his firing having only killed and wounded about sixteen.²⁰

It is now, however, that we shall have more serious business. Our second parallel may require us to be in possession of two strong works, which defend the right and left of the enemy, and which it may be necessary for us to carry by storm.

I have great confidence in our troops, and you may have as great. One hears no complainings, although the duty is not very light.

A major general and his division mounts the trenches twenty four hours in every three days; and this is a place in which few men wish to sleep.

In fine, every corps is desirous of distinguishing itself, and in military matters, as your Excellency knows, this is always a good presage.

The French ships in York river will make forward move as soon as the wind and tide are favorable. At present, it is not intended to pass the enemy's batteries.

With the greatest respect. I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obst.

James McHenry.

His Excellency
Gov. Lee

¹⁸ Armand-Louis de Gontaut Biron, Duc de Lauzun (1747-1793).

¹⁹ Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 67-68.

²⁰ Lord Cornwallis.

JOHN HANSON TO THOMAS SIM LEE
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelphia Oct.^o 9th 1781

Dear Sir

I am favoured with yours of the 5th and shall allways think my self honored by your Agreeable Correspondence, and be very thankful for any Intelligence you may at any time think proper to communicate. My Stay here is uncertain, it depends upon the next Election of Delegates to Congress, and in these Cases you know, no great reliance is to be put in popular assemblies, but be assured while I Continue your Attention. We have no news to be depended on, nothing but Vague and uncertain reports. No Accounts yet from General Green of the late Action. We are Anxiously waiting an Express from him. it is now a month since it is said the Action happened, and no official Accounts having Come to hand, Occasions some uneasiness, however I hope all has gone well. I have the pleasure to Acquaint you that we have Just Received at Casco Bay from Amsterdam A very large quantity of Cloathing for our Army With a Considerable quantity of Continental war-like Stores. The Enemy remain on Staten Island alltogether inactive—for further Intelligence I beg leave to refer you to the papers which I presume Mr. Carroll²¹ has sent you. And have the honor to be with much esteem & regard

Yr. Excellency's Most hble Serv^t

John Hanson

[Addressed:] His Excellency Tho^s. Sim Lee Esq^r.
Governor of Maryland

[Endorsed:] J. Hanson

9th. Oct^r. 1781

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE²²
(T. S. Lee Collection)

10th October 1781

My dear Sir:

This morning the French and American batteries act with great spirit and fire. But we shall be more eloquent before evening, as we shall speak with about fifty pieces. The enemy's answers are weak and without effect.

It appears, however, as if they intended soon to give them more de-

²¹ Daniel Carroll (1730-1796), then a Maryland delegate to the Continental Congress.

²² Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, p. 69.

cision, having been employed last night in bringing from a frigate, and one of their batteries, a number of heavy canon.

With great respect, I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most obst.

James McHenry.

His Excellency
Governor Lee

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE ²³
(T. S. Lee Collection)

October 11th. [1781]

Last night, which was our night in the trenches, we thought to have had the pleasure of opening the second parallel; but we were disappointed; and it will be commenced tonight by the Baron Steuben's division, of which the Maryland troops compose a part.

Some of our red-hot shot and shells set fire last night to the Charon and two transports, which were entirely burnt. We have killed a number of the enemy and deranged some of their works, but till the batteries of the second parallel can be opened, we do not expect any very important effects.

Notwithstanding the vigilance of the French fleet, a small vessel from New York landed Major Gordon ²⁴ and another officer of the same rank yesterday morning at York. They bring dispatches, but we do not learn their nature. They talk, however, in the British lines that an essay will be made for their relief.

I have had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Fitzhugh ²⁵ today, and of your letter. There is not a service which I can render him, with General Greene, which he will not receive.

Respectfully, and with the greatest attachment,

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most obst.

James McHenry

His Excellency
Gov. Lee

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

²⁴ Sir Charles Gordon (1756-1835).

²⁵ Probably Lt. Col. Peregrine Fitzhugh (d. 1839), of Virginia.

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO THOMAS SIM LEE ²⁶
(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

To Gov^r Lee

Headquarters Before York.
October 12th 1781

Sir:

I was yesterday honored with Your Excellency's favor of the 3^d.²⁷

Give me leave to return you my sincerest thanks for your exertions on the present occasion.

The supplies furnished by the State are so liberal, that they remove every apprehension of Want.

Colo. Blaine ²⁸ has gone himself over to the Eastern shore to see that the Cattle from thence are brought down to the proper landings where they will be slaughtered, and the Meat sufficiently salted to be transported by Water; proper measures have been taken by the Commissaries to receive the Cattle of the Western Shore, and to have them driven by Land.

Arrangements have also been made to send up the Craft for Flour, as fast as they discharge their lading of Stores.

I will desire Colo. Stewart ²⁹ to send up all the empty Flour Barrells that can be made of further use.

We opened our first pallel on the night of the 6th. and established it compleatly with a lost too trifling to mention.

Our Shells have done considerable damage to the Town, and our fire from the Cannon has been so heavy and well directed against the embrazures of the Enemy's Works, that they have been obliged, during the day, to withdraw their Cannon, and place them behind the Merlens.

The Charon of forty-four guns, and two large Transports have been burnt by Hot Balls. The Guns and Stores had been previously taken out of the Frigate.

We last night advanced our second Parallel within 300 yards of the Enemy's Works, without the least annoyance from them.

Lord Cornwallis's conduct has hitherto been passive beyond conception; he either has not the means of defence, or he intends to reserve himself until we approach very near him.

A few days may determine whether he will or will not give us much trouble.

I have the honor to be, with great respect

Your Excellen^{cy}'s most Ob^t. Ser^t.

Go. Washington

²⁶ Printed in Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XXIII, 209-210; see also *Calendar of Maryland State Papers—The Brown Books* (Annapolis, 1948), No. 534.

²⁷ Governor and Council to Washington, October 3, 1781, is printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 632-633.

²⁸ Probably Ephraim Blaine (d. 1804), of Pennsylvania, Commissary General of Purchases.

²⁹ Probably Charles Stewart (d. 1800), of New Jersey, Commissary of Issues.

JAMES MCHENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Lines before York,
15th October, 1781

My dear Sir:

I am much fatigued by three days and two successive night's duty; but not quite so much as to prevent me from congratulating your Excellency on the success of our enterprize against two of the enemy's redoubts on the extreme of their left.

About 7 o'clock after sunset, the light infantry under the Marquiss stormed the work to which they were opposed with great bravery and decision.

The French grenadiers, who carried the second, I am told, have not suffered us to be their superior. Their loss is about 74 wounded and six killed; ours, in all, about 38.

The former had to contend with the most numerous garrison. Several officers were wounded, but not one dangerously.

Gimat is in the number.³¹ The greatest part of each garrison found means to escape, so that our prisoners do not exceed sixty. Col. Hamilton had command of the party.³²

Col. Laurens, who commanded a regiment, took the Major, (Campbell), of the redoubt we assailed.³³ The French possessed themselves of two royals. We found only a dismounted cannon and a barrell of hand grenades.

We employed the rest of the night in extending the second parallel to the two redoubts, and in forming a covered way to the rest. By tomorrow we expect to open some batteries within two hundred yards of his Lordship.

As we approach, his fire has increased. He does not, however, appear, to have many mortars or howitzers, but from what he has, his fire of shells is incessant.

It is now also his sorties will commence.

Most respectfully, I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's obst.

James McHenry.

His Excellency
Gov. Lee

³⁰ Printed in *A Sidelight on History*, pp. 71-72.

³¹ Chevalier de Gimat, a Lieutenant Colonel in the French forces.

³² Alexander Hamilton (1755-1804), of New York.

³³ Probably John Laurens (d. 1782), of South Carolina. See Christopher Ward, *The War of the Revolution* (New York, 1952), II, 892, for reference to Major Campbell, a British officer.

JOHN HANSON TO THOMAS SIM LEE
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelphia Oct^r. 16th 1781

My Dear Governor

I have the honor of yours of the 12th. no Express is yet Arrived from General Green—if he Comes by Water it may be Accounted for as the winds for some days past have been Contrary. I wish to see a particular Account of the Killed and Wounded but at the same time am fearful for our line. it is reported that Col^o Howard is Killed—³⁴

From undoubted intelligence the British have been reinforced since the late engagement with Count de Grasse with six Ships of the line & that their fleet now Consists of twenty nine Ships of the line. Mr Carroll ³⁵ and I had the honor of inclosing you Cops of some papers by Express which I hope you received, by which you are made Acquainted with the designs of the Enemy to relieve Lord Cornwallis by advices. Since the Troops they take with them Amount to upwards of 5000—Their fleet is very formidable, and tho' Considerably inferior to the french, yet as so much depends upon the Issue of their enterprize, I must Confess my fears are some what Excited—but hope for the best. The Account of the Arrival of Cloathing and Stores to the Eastward, which I mentioned in my last, it seems is premature. Some Agreeable intelligence from the Southward is Contained in the last paper, to which I refer you—And Am with the highest Sentiments of esteem and regard

Dear Sir, Your Excellency's most hble Serv^t

John Hanson

[Addressed:] His Excellency Tho^s Sim Lee Esq^r
Governor of Maryland

[Endorsed:] J. Hanson
16th Oct^r 1781

(To be concluded in the June number.)

³⁴ The report about John Eager Howard was, of course, erroneous.

³⁵ See Note 21.

MARYLAND BIBLIOGRAPHY: 1954

THE fourth annual Maryland bibliography is printed in this issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. Earlier bibliographies appeared in the three preceding March numbers. The principles of selection previously used apply in this year's compilation. Materials in this *Magazine*, the *Maryland History Notes*, current government publications, and undocumented newspaper articles are specifically omitted. Grateful acknowledgment for assistance is made to the staff of the Maryland Department, Enoch Pratt Free Library.

Attention of our readers is invited to *Writings on American History*, now edited by James R. Masterson, which includes sections on Maryland history. Volumes for 1948 and 1949 are in the Library of the Society, and the 1950 volume can be expected to appear in due course.

The entries which follow are listed alphabetically under four headings: I. Books; II. Pamphlets and Leaflets; III. Articles; and IV. Theses and Dissertations. (*Entries under III. Articles are listed alphabetically by publication.*)

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REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Archives of Maryland, Volume LXVI. (Proceedings of the Provincial Court of Maryland, 1675-1677.) Edited by ELIZABETH MERRITT. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1954. xxi, 541 pp. \$5. (To members of the Society, \$3.)

Historians of American law, along with social historians, have cause for rejoicing in the continuing publication of that invaluable series of records of Maryland's central court which begin in 1637. In all, forty years of the records of the Provincial Court are now available in print, and they constitute an extensive record of judicial activity for the 17th century, a record unmatched in the publications of any other of the Original Thirteen States.

Although the Provincial Court was looked upon in Maryland as having the powers of the central courts of England and in bearing somewhat the same relation to the county courts as the central courts in England bore to the county courts of that country, little appellate jurisdiction seems to have been exercised by the Provincial Court during this period. Only four cases came up from the lower courts on appeal, and these were not all decided in the present published record. Most cases came up under the court's original concurrent jurisdiction. During this period the Provincial Court and the Chancery Court, with the same judges, conducted business without clear separation of jurisdiction. On a number of occasions in this record the Provincial Court did not hesitate to exercise equity powers, notably in the complex case of Captain Thomas Peighen.

To a historian of the law the salient characteristic of this record, despite a certain informality in pleading and a tendency to mix common law and equity remedies to suit the needs of the case, is the general acceptance by litigants and the court of the applicability of the common law of England to Maryland. A comparison of the work of the Massachusetts central court for the same period would reveal far more legal innovations, far less deference to English precedent. One of the most interesting cases involving arguments derived from English cases is also one of the very few to go up on appeal to the Upper House of the Assembly. That was the suit which John Wedge brought against James Ringgold for false arrest or defamation on a charge of stealing eight barrels of Indian corn (p. 208). Wedge won a jury verdict for some 12,000 lbs. of tobacco. Arguing a motion in arrest of judgment, Ringgold's counsel cited Hutton's and Croke's Reports to show that it was lawful to apprehend a felon or search on suspicion of felony. Since these cases were not really pertinent to the issue of defamation, the court properly held the argument insufficient to arrest judgment but permitted Ring-

gold to appeal on writ of error. Again in *Creycroft v. Carville* (pp. 424, 425) the court held that the jury, not the court, were judges of fact in accordance with traditional separation of functions.

Although the volume covers the years of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia which had strong overtones in Maryland, there is no evidence in the record either of an unusual degree of disorder or lawlessness or of especially poor economic conditions. In the first place, virtually no criminal cases came up. One of the few was a case of suicide where the felon's personal estate was confiscated but not his lands. Again, so far as these central court records go, master-servant relations appear to have been comparatively smooth. Only one instance of the abuse of a servant appears in the record, and that is the petition of Elizabeth Griffin, a redemptioner, who charged that she was being mistreated by her deceased purchaser's widow, Mistress Abberdine. She petitioned that her mistress had denied her sufficient meat and other necessities, "nor every suffering her to be at quiet but with unmercifull blowes and other hard usage making her incapable of doing that service which she doth most rigorously expect from the petitioner." Some day some one will try to ascertain why it was that colonial mistresses were much harder on women servants than masters. William Byrd's *Secret Diary* offers suggestive clues on that score. In Elizabeth's case the court ordered the petitioner and her mistress to appear before two commissioners, one of whom was a justice of the court, who were empowered "to enquire into the premisses and to doe according to right and justice in this behalfe." In fact, it would seem that, considering the harsh servant code in force in Maryland at that time, a code under which servants were still being sentenced to serve ten days for every day's unauthorized absence, labor seems to have gotten a fair deal from courts presided over by employers. Servants appear to have been awarded their freedom when they were entitled to it, and to have been adjudged to serve shorter terms when they could show that they came in under indenture instead of by the custom of the country.

These records continue to furnish insights into the level of education prevailing in the province. In one inquisition seven jurors out of twelve sign with a mark (p. 8); in another, five out of twelve (pp. 49, 50), suggesting an illiteracy rate similar to that of the neighboring tobacco province of Virginia but far higher than that prevailing in New England for this period.

These and many other matters of social and economic history are revealed in the record, which shows at every point the adherence to high editorial standards by Miss Elizabeth Merritt, who, in addition, has provided us with a useful and illuminating introduction to the volume. It is praise enough, perhaps, to say that the volume is edited and published with that same meticulous fidelity to the original record that has characterized the entire series to date and given it the stamp of authority as a source collection.

RICHARD B. MORRIS

Columbia University

David Bailie Warden, *A Bibliographical Sketch of America's Cultural Ambassador in France, 1804-1845*. Institut Français de Washington, 1954. 44 pp.

It is not often that a sketch of the length Mr. Haber has written opens up so many avenues for both reflection and further research. The reason is that David Bailie Warden, though a mere name to most American historians today, was an indefatigable servant of scientific and scholarly causes in his own day and left voluminous records of his activity that need only to be sampled to suggest how much remains to be told about our early cultural history.

Warden was one of that remarkable band of United Irishmen who sought refuge in the United States at the close of the 18th century. He tried his hand at schoolmastering, chemistry, and medicine; held minor posts in the American diplomatic and consular service until his volatile temperament got him into trouble with his colleagues; and then settled down in Paris to write and translate scholarly books, collect Americana, and serve unofficially but with brilliant success as "resident ambassador to the Court of Letters." His American correspondents included Presidents Jefferson and Madison, Joel Barlow, Samuel Latham Mitchell, George Ticknor, Peter Du Ponceau, Nathaniel Bowditch, Joseph C. Cabell, Jared Sparks, and nearly all the learned societies and institutions in the young United States. He aided Bishop Grégoire in his pioneer work on Negro culture, and Alexander von Humboldt in his geographical writings. The first library he amassed was sold *en bloc* to Harvard, and his second to the New York State Library. He compiled several statistical and descriptive works that provided Europeans with a great part of what they knew about Warden's adopted country in the first half of the 19th century. One of these was the extraordinary *Chronologie historique de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1826-1845), in ten volumes, which has fallen into neglect simply because no publisher would venture to issue so exhaustive a work in English.

Warden's correspondence, papers, and memoranda are extant in two large collections in the Maryland Historical Society and in the Library of Congress respectively, that of the Society being the more voluminous. Mr. Haber has furnished an excellent guide to the riches in both collections by outlining Warden's varied and important accomplishments. Is it too much to hope that a substantial selection of the letters and papers themselves may soon be edited and published? Such a work would plug many gaps in our knowledge of European-American cultural exchange in a period that has been little investigated by intellectual historians.

L. H. BUTTERFIELD

Massachusetts Historical Society

Rebel Rose, Life of Rose O'Neal Greenhow, Confederate Spy. By ISHBEL ROSS (Mrs. Bruce Rae). New York: Harper Brothers, 1954. xiii, 294 pp. \$4.

Every Marylander, especially those who had Confederate antecedents, will welcome this book which quite amply fills out the tale told by Col. Louis A. Sigaud in the September, 1948, issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. "Rebel Rose" was an indubitable daughter of Maryland, both Charles and Montgomery counties having been scenes of her earlier years. But from the time she entered her aunt's boarding house on Capitol Hill she was a dominant figure in Washington life, whether she stayed there, in Mexico or in California, or, as was the case after August 23, 1861, in a Union prison. Therefore, life in the Capital is the theme of nearly half the book and Mrs. Rae, in portraying that life of intrigue and fashion, paints almost as kaleidoscopic a picture as Margaret Leech did in *Reveille in Washington* fourteen years ago. William E. Doster's *Lincoln and Episodes of the Civil War* and Mrs. Greenhow's own *My Imprisonment* are documents vital to the story here told by Mrs. Rae but she has not stopped there, having read through the National Archives records, interviewed a surviving grandchild, now resident in Maryland, and ransacked county courthouses as well as the resources of the Hall of Records. But the book does not suffer from mustiness, far from it. "Rebel Rose," even as she drowns in death for the Confederacy, remains a bright irresistible person as indeed she must have been to include such rigorous Abolitionists as Abigail Adams within a circle that contained Generals Beauregard, Lee, McLellan, and Scott as well as Jefferson Davis, James Buchanan, John C. Calhoun and the grafter and scoundrel Jose Y. Limantour. A reviewer can but hope that this book has a wider audience than most popularized biographies and that, for the sake of those today who have no concept of the feelings of a true pro-Southerner (from 1861 to 1865), the transmutation from book to movie—an inevitable matter—does not sully the charm of Mrs. Rae's splendid work.

ROGER THOMAS

Hall of Records

Soldiers of the American Army, 1775-1954. By FRITZ KREDEL and FREDERICK P. TODD. Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1954. \$12.50.

Few khaki-clad inductees of our modern army realize that they are the lineal descendants of a galaxy of anonymous heroes ranging from the buckskin-clad rifleman of the Continental Army to the varnished constabularyman of war-torn Berlin. However, the story is vividly unrolled in the new edition of *Soldiers of the American Army, 1775-1954* with colored plates by Fritz Kredel and text by Frederick P. Todd.

Mr. Kredel, a distinguished German military artist now living in New

York, and Colonel Todd, director of the West Point Museum and an eminent military scholar, have produced a history of our military past that is at once concise and inclusive, graphic and readable. Many units in which Maryland troops played an illustrious part are represented, and the rich resources of our Historical Society have been tapped in several instances to provide important details of their actual appearance in the field.

A wise selection has been made to include the most colorful and picturesque soldiers of our heritage such as Baylor's Dragoons, and "Congress' Own" of the Revolution; Wayne's Infantry of the Legion of 1795; the 6th U. S. Infantry of Chippewa fame; the Texas Rangers and Mississippi Rifles of the Mexican War, not to mention Bragg's (originally Ringgold's) famous Flying Artillery; "Jeb" Stuart's Cavalry of the Confederacy and Duryea's Zouaves of the Union Army; Custer's 7th Cavalry; The Philadelphia City Troop and The Richmond Blues; Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders; the Pioneers of the AEF, and the Paratroops, and Rangers of World War II. They are all here, in lifelike attitudes. Their story, though carefully documented, is a stirring one.

ANNE S. K. BROWN

Knickerbocker Birthday: A Sesqui-Centennial History of the New-York Historical Society, 1804-1954. By R. W. G. VAIL. New York: The Society, 1954. xix, 547 pp. \$6.

Dr. Vail, the learned Director of the New-York Historical Society, has produced an informal and delightful account of the first 150 years of the organization he heads. By its means he has demonstrated effectively what is little known and less seen in practice, that a book may be a mass of accurate material and yet be so organized and written as to be interesting, entertaining, and highly instructive withal.

Knickerbocker Birthday begins with the imaginary walk of John Pintard from his home on Duane Street to the old City Hall on November 20, 1804. On that day a group of his friends, led by him, there planned the organization of the New-York Historical Society. During the walk the author is able to give a description of New York as it then was, and of John Pintard himself, the rubicund City Corporation Clerk and Inspector. The History of the Society ends with no less than one hundred and seventeen pages providing accounts of its outstanding festivities. These vary from simple ceremonies where historians have been honored, to banquets which would have impressed the kermesse hardened founders of New Amsterdam. They provide pleasant evidence of the Society's growth in size and importance. But the message of the book is contained in the twenty-four chapters—one for each president—which trace the Society from its precarious beginnings to its present flourishing state.

The account of each presidency begins with a quick summary of the leading historic events of the period. Then follow developments within the Society itself—its moves from building to building, ending in its present magnificent home, its acquisitions of antiquities, works of art and historical papers, its scholarly publications, widespread educational work among the young, and accumulation of an immense endowment to perpetuate its activities.

Despite the playful style in which all this is recorded, there is shown in the basic policies of the Society a singleness of purpose, a high degree of most intelligent leadership. These furnish the real theme of the History. The Society years ago transferred its important Egyptian, Assyrian, and North and South American Indian collections to the Brooklyn Museum. More recently it disposed of duplicate rare books in its own name at public auction, in place of pointlessly hoarding them, or selling surreptitiously. These are examples of what is basic in flourishing institutions—adherence to function. This in turn has been responsible for the devotion and princely donations of officers, members, and others. Their labors and gifts in their turn make possible more work to contribute to the success cycle. Considered thus, Dr. Vail's history is not only a charming account of the Society, but a sermon on successful institutional policy making.

DOUGLAS GORDON

American Heritage, Volume VI, Number 1 (December, 1954). New York, 1954. 120 pp. \$2.95.

For some years a band of professional writers and historians, led by Professor Allan Nevins of Columbia University, have struggled to bring into existence an historical magazine adapted to the tastes, interests, and needs of the average American reader as opposed to those of the specialist and antiquarian. The fruit of these efforts is now available in *American Heritage*, a bi-monthly edited by Bruce Catton and a distinguished staff under the imprimatur of Simon and Schuster. Judging by the first issue with its superb format, typography, and illustrations, the publication ought to attract many subscribers by sheer visual allure. Of the ten articles that furnish the bulk of the content, all but one—an excerpt from Paul Horgan's forthcoming history of the Rio Grande—deal with some aspect of American social life, frequently in lightsome vein. Thus, Oliver Jensen depicts the heyday of the Fall River Line, Cleveland Amory presents an ironic portrait of the New York City clubs in their declining years, and Lucius Beebe offers a glimpse of the Western mining frontier at its gaudiest in "Panamint: Suburb of Hell." Balancing these are the serious pieces, ranging from Gerald Carson's nostalgic sketch of the old-time country store to the timely reminder by T. Harry Williams of how a certain Civil War general suffered disgrace and ruin in the hysteria of a congressional investigating body. This reviewer is inclined to award the palm, however, to the respective contributions of Allan Nevins ("Henry

Ford—a Complex Man”) and Dennis Brogan (“The Writing of History”), each a model of craftsmanship, of critical acumen, and imaginative presentation. All in all, the sponsors of *American Heritage* deserve unqualified praise for this initial product of their handiwork. The only doubt that arises is simply whether the man in the street, for whom the periodical is designed, will choose to pay the price.

BRUCE T. MCCULLY

College of William and Mary

The Letters of William Gilmore Simms, Volume III, 1850-1857. Edited by MARY C. SIMMS OLIPHANT, et al. Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1954. 564 pp. \$8.50.

The third volume of the William Gilmore Simms letters reveals a vivid self-portrait of a man passionately devoted to the cause of Southern literary independence. Becoming increasingly impatient with the direction of national politics in the years following the Great Compromise, Simms concentrated his energies on maintaining an outlet for Southern literature through the columns of the *Southern Quarterly Review*. As editor he tirelessly cajoled reluctant publishers, dunned planters for unpaid subscriptions, and coaxed and encouraged his contributors. At intervals he found time to write a series of historical novels and to undertake an ill-starred lecture tour throughout the North.

Valuable as these letters are for the student of American civilization—a value greatly enhanced by the detailed annotation of the editors—their publication emphasizes the fact that traditional interpretations of Simms must be revised. Far from being a prophet without honor in his own country, there is ample evidence here that the South readily acknowledged his pre-eminence as a man of letters. Yet during middle age, heir to the irksome responsibilities of a large plantation and plagued by the financial demands of a growing family, Simms became the victim of a deep-seated despondency. He fell into the habit of referring to his literary labors as “drudgery” and, in mid-career, he was continually haunted by the disquieting doubt that a life dedicated to the creation of an indigenous Southern literature was, perhaps, doomed to the limbo of a lost cause.

CHARLES H. BOHNER

University of Delaware

The Self-Made Man in America: The Myth of Rags to Riches. By IRVIN G. WYLLIE. New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1954. viii, 210 pp. \$4.

Americans have always amazed European visitors by their ruling passion with money for money's sake. This, to the American, constituted his

criteria of success. Commencing with the hypothesis that the successful man was the self-made man, Professor Wyllie has analyzed the success theme in American life and literature and has demonstrated that the boast of the self-made man that he owed nothing to others and that his accomplishments were his own, are false and misleading. Although the American has a tendency to measure his success in terms of wealth, the author claims with justification that our most cherished ideas about how fame and fortune could be won are simply a myth and untrue.

Professor Wyllie has covered the period in American history from 1830 to 1954 in terms of what the American businessman and his leadership considered the reasons for his success. The conclusion is that the amassing of huge fortunes was the by-product of the industrial revolution and uninhibited business practices which received new impetus following the Civil War. Conditions of this sort did not favor the self-made man. One must take into consideration such factors as environment, opportunity, education, and the interdependence of man to his fellow man. It is, as the author points out, the fact that "faith was more alluring than fact."

Professor Wyllie has presented a new, substantial, and thought-provoking contribution to our intellectual history. One is forced to the conclusion that no matter what we think of the self-made man and his somewhat unscrupulous methods of acquiring his wealth, we must admire him for his contributions to American life by giving away his money so effectively and efficiently to enrich American life so well.

The author is to be congratulated for this contribution. He has thoroughly examined the idea and its uses and has related it to the general trend of thought. He has illustrated his pages with some of Charles Dana Gibson's drawings of well-dressed nineteenth century gentlemen which add an interesting touch. His bibliography is impressive. By garnering his facts from a vast number of printed sources, he has verified every quotation. This book should rank high on any list of notable works in the field of the history of ideas.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

National Records Management Council

Captured By Indians: True Tales of Pioneer Survivors. By HOWARD H. PECKHAM. New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1954. xvii, 238 pp. \$5.

Believing that a vast audience could be attracted to tales of Indian captivity Howard H. Peckham, the director of the Clements Library at the University of Michigan and a serious scholar of aspects of American Indian history, has narrated fourteen of these stories in a simple unpretentious way for the general reading public. Eight of the captivities occurred in the 18th century; only three are concerned with the trans-Mississippi West. What is presented is a theme with variations. As would be expected, most of the captives were women and children. Most

of them had loved ones murdered. All experienced much suffering and misery at the outset, and all eventually regained contact with white people. Years after their ordeal they either wrote about it or some one else told their story. How authentic these tales are is a matter of speculation for Mr. Peckham does not try to verify his accounts. He introduces each tale with a few broad generalizations that suggest the historical perspective, and he concludes with a brief statement of its various printings. Devotees of such tales, and scholars can easily consult more original material. For the uninitiated, however, the volume can serve as a general introduction. Rutgers University Press lends a helping hand by providing a most attractive format.

RICHARD LOWITT

Connecticut College

The Social Sciences in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1954. x, 181 pp. \$2.25 (\$1.75 paper).

This exceedingly important and highly stimulating report (Bulletin 64) is the result of group thinking on the part of the Council's second Committee on Historiography.

Bulletin 64, like its predecessor (Bulletin 54, [1946]: *Theory and Practice in Historical Study*) continues "to deal with the problems involved in making effective use of social science concepts and . . . methods in historical interpretation," concerning itself mainly with "substantive issues of method and analysis." The importance of having historians employ "methods of inquiry" used by "other social disciplines," is stressed, and a closer "collaboration between historians and other social scientists" is desired.

The report emphasizes that historians "can gain a working knowledge of the social sciences only from wide reading, discussion, and application of specific concepts to historical materials." "The social sciences do not solve the problem of analyzing time sequences but they do contribute to the historian's understanding of why men, groups, and societies behave in the way they do."

The historian's task should be that of presenting events in a definite order, of analyzing them in an interrelated manner, and of giving the causes of that pattern of events. To sum up the entire report in the wording of Chapter 6: "historians stand to gain substantially by intelligent and eclectic borrowing from the other social sciences."

HOWARD LEWIS BRIGGS

State Teachers College, Frostburg

Fourteen Hundred and 91 Days in the Confederate Army. By W. W. HEARTSILL; edited by BELL I. WILEY. Jackson, Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer Press, 1954. 332 pp. \$6.

The past two years have witnessed the appearance of a variety of materials related to the Civil War. It is especially of interest to note that many of these do not fall into the category of pure history, but are rather items of curiosity. Such is this unique book. The author, William Heartsill, a Confederate veteran, kept a diary of his experiences. After the War, he returned to his store in Texas and by means of a small ten dollar press printed an edition of the diary. One hundred copies were struck off—each with tipped in original photographs of members of his organization, the "W. P. Lane Rangers." Thinking in terms of our present day methods of printing, it was a fantastic undertaking paralleled only by the printers in 16th century Venice.

Heartsill's book has been reproduced in facsimile, in order, we are told, to retain all the flavour of the original. For the collector of curiosia and for the student of printing methods, this is indeed fortunate, but for the reader of history it presents something of a problem. The print is small; letters are blurred, and words are frequently misspelled. However, this is but a minor failing and if the reader is persistent he will find much to be gained from this volume. Certainly the diary is not the *Anabasis* of the Civil War. Heartsill is a good reporter, and he emphasizes the fact that war consists not so much of the sensuous experiences of fear and death, but of delay, of uncertainty, of personal discomfort, of boredom. This is one of the most admirable qualities of the book.

His naive approach to his task gives a certain amount of charm to his writing. It is an interesting book and worth the time it takes to read.

RICH BORNEMANN

Baltimore Museum of Art

Confederate Letters of John W. Hagan. Edited by BELL I. WILEY. Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1954. 55 pp. \$1.50.

For many years Professor Wiley has been collecting and publishing letters which describe the Civil War in terms of what the rank and file soldier felt about his role in that war. This small volume is another of his contributions in that same vein. Previously published in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, these letters are a fascinating addition to the ever growing literature about Johnny Reb, his life, and his times.

Hagan served in a Georgia organization and participated in such battles as Chattanooga, Kenesaw Mountain, and Atlanta. After this last-named battle, he was taken prisoner and spent the remainder of the war at Camp Chase. Following his release from military service, Hagan returned to Georgia where he died in 1918.

These letters, the most of which are addressed to his wife Amanda, are an interesting and absorbing account of the life of the common soldier in the Confederate Army. Professor Wiley is indeed to be congratulated for placing material of this nature in print. One can only wish that we had in print the letters of many Maryland soldiers from that war. Professor Wiley has blazed a trail for others to follow.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

National Records Management Council

New Wings for Intelligence. Baltimore: Schneidereith & Sons, 1954. 34 pp.

As a tribute to one of the outstanding men in the history of the dissemination of knowledge, Schneidereith and Sons has published this booklet about Ottmar Mergenthaler, inventor of the Linotype. A native of Germany, Mergenthaler did most of his work in Baltimore, his adopted city. It is to be hoped that *New Wings for Intelligence*, with its attractive illustrations and a foreword by the inventor's only living son, will bring to many an appreciation of one of Baltimore's more brilliant lights.

A Book of Maps of Cape May, 1610-1878. Compiled by HORACE G. RICHARDS. Cape May, N. J.: 1954. 28 pp. \$2.

An interesting aspect of map study is brought out in this collection of twenty-seven maps with comments and descriptions by the compiler. Concentrating on a small area, the maps show changes not only in man's conception of the area, but change in the area itself. One wonders why the maps are not all arranged chronologically as are the comments, and even wishes, for convenience, that the comment on each map were beside it, but this is a small point, and probably an impractical printing arrangement. The book should be of interest to geographers and historians as well as to those who just like maps.

NOTES AND QUERIES

THE MARYLAND SCENE AND POE'S ELEANORA

By JOHN C. FRENCH

It has often been remarked that Poe, unlike his contemporaries Irving and Hawthorne, made little use of familiar scenes for the settings of his tales. When he names a specific locality such as the Ragged Mountains near Charlottesville or Sullivan's Island and the adjacent mainland of South Carolina, he is content with the briefest of descriptions, too vague to leave guide-book references for tourists. However, the most daring flights of imagination must initially take off from some firm ground of remembered experience or observation. The suggestion that Poe's "Landor's Cottage" would not have been written if he had never lived in a somewhat similar structure in Fordham is entirely convincing; and the thought that the literal canoe trip on the Wissahiccon which Poe describes in "The Elk" was not without influence on the portrayal of the river and the gorge of the "Domain of Arnheim" is only slightly less so.

A similar starting point for idyllic description by Poe may perhaps be identified with scenery that he must have known near Baltimore in the early 1830's. In the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for December, 1941 (XXXVI, p. 363), Miss May Garrettson Evans, in an article entitled "Poe in Amity Street," calls attention to the close parallel between the first part of the tale *Eleanora*, which depicts "the happy life together of two cousins, the gradual unfolding of their love, the vow of constancy" and the actual situation in the years between 1832 and 1835 when Edgar, Virginia, and Virginia's mother, Mrs. Clemm, lived in the little brick dwelling now numbered 203 Amity Street and restored and maintained as a literary memorial. The autobiographical parallel is too close to be ignored.

It will be remembered that the cottage of the tale stands in an isolated ravine which Poe calls the "Valley of the Many Colored Grass" and near a clear stream so quiet as to be named by the cousins the "River of Silence." As a starting point for Poe's fancy in this elaborate description, I suggest the valley of Gwynn's Falls at a point not more than a mile and a half west of Amity Street. That stream, once a valuable source of water power, came tumbling down from the uplands of Baltimore County over a series of dams until it rolled under the great western road to Frederick and Cumberland, past the fine mansion built by Charles Carroll, Barrister, about 1754, to find sea level in the Middle Branch of the Patapsco Estuary. Its last and most picturesque ravine was the one nearest Amity Street.

Like Mr. Mencken I once lived on Union Square in West Baltimore and knew the immediate suburbs well. The Gwynn's Falls valley as I first saw it some sixty-five years ago was still largely unspoiled. The stream-flow was strong, the hills well wooded, and though steam had made water power less important, the millrace still ran full of clear water. The footpath along the race was a pleasant walk under tall trees, and was a lover's lane for the young people of the city.

Lambert Wilmer records that he and Poe used to take long walks together, and that Edgar was in every way considerate of his little cousin. Wilmer left Baltimore in October, 1832. It is not pushing probability too far to conjecture that there were many walks in the country which Virginia shared, that the pleasant hillsides of the Falls were often chosen, and that they may well have suggested to the young poet a scenic elaboration of the thinly autobiographical portrayal of his life in *Amity Street*.

EDWARD THORNTON LOOKS AT BALTIMORE

By FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Two letters from Edward Thornton, British vice consul at Baltimore,¹ to James Bland Burges, the under-secretary of state for foreign affairs,² describe Baltimore through the eyes of a young man who was an extremely important visitor at a time when Anglo-American relations were at a low ebb and the city pro-French in its sentiments. Written in the late summer and early fall of 1793, Thornton's letters provide a vivid description of the town, his antipathy towards it, as well as a valuable commentary upon the political conditions of that year. The real importance of the letters lies in his views on the visit of "Citizen" Genet, the yellow fever epidemic, and the arrival of the refugees from Santo Domingo.

In 1793 the United States was engaged in a struggle to preserve its neutrality. "This country is still in a state of agitation on the great question of observing a neutrality in the war actually subsisting among the powers of Europe," wrote George Hammond, the British minister.³ While French sympathy was strong in Baltimore, and its citizens had followed the progress of the French Revolution with great interest, the feelings of most Baltimoreans were somewhat tempered by the excesses of

¹ Edward Thornton (1766-1852) had come to the United States in 1791 as secretary to George Hammond, the first minister to the United States. From 1791 to 1796, he was vice consul at Baltimore. The location of the original letters is not known. The Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress possesses photostats of typescript copies of each.

² Sir James Bland Burges (1752-1824) had become under-secretary of state in the foreign department in 1789. Retired in 1795 in favor of a friend of Lord Grenville, he devoted the remainder of his life to literary pursuits.

³ George Hammond to Lord Grenville, September 17, 1793. Public Record Office, Foreign Office, 5:1 (hereafter FO).

the revolutionists and the unwisdom of "Citizen" Genet. The result was, according to Thornton, a slow decline in the influence of France over the minds of the people.

Edmond C. Genet, the French minister, had come to secure support for his plan to use the United States as a base for an attack on British commerce and to seize adjoining British and Spanish territory. Although Baltimoreans had greeted him enthusiastically, Hammond commented that he had "the strongest reason to believe that his [Genet's] general conduct has been very far from making a favorable impression on the President and the other members of his government."⁴ Thornton's letters also reveal the deep interest in Baltimore toward these events and the deep sense of the obligation of its people towards France, as well as the mixed emotions caused by Genet's injudicious actions.

A second event which Thornton describes was the famous yellow fever epidemic of 1793. Commencing in June, it lasted until October when the coming of the frost provided the only check upon the dread plague. Baltimore, too, experienced the disease, which has been described as "one of the great tragic episodes in the human history of the world."⁵ Thornton notes the alarm felt in the city with the comment that the events of the four months contributed much to increase his irritable disposition.

During the summer, the Santo Domingo refugees reached the United States. Most of them were "destitute, bewildered, despairing, inflamed with race prejudice, passionately and fanatically opposed to the revolution and all its works in the island."⁶ Baltimore responded to the influx of the thirteen shiploads by absorbing them into the life of the city. While revealing his horror at the massacre at Cape François, Thornton criticized British policies for not following a course which could have turned public support more toward his own country because of this incident.

Thornton did not particularly like Baltimore and Maryland, and it can be assumed that his stay here was an unhappy one. He did not wish to comment favorably on the "manners of the people in this place," for fear of "having adopted this indirect method of paying court to the inhabitants of Baltimore," so he remained silent. Yet he felt that his tour of duty was beneficial since the town had in it "many more who dislike than admire her," he had made many more friends than foes in it. So, he desired an early return to England "to relearn the lessons of humanity." Still, Thornton's comments were not at all entirely negative. He did observe that Baltimore was the most "increasing" commercial town he had ever seen and to him, at least, the prospects for the future were very pleasing.

⁴ Same, June 10, 1793.

⁵ John H. Powell, *Bring Out Your Dead* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1949), p. v.

⁶ Frances Sergeant Childs, *French Refugee Life in the United States*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 16.

" Baltimore

" 1st. September 1793

" My dearest Sir,

" At the time of the sailing of the July Packet from New York, I was so engaged in preparing for my journey to this town, which had been too long delayed, that I had no time for writing; and the June Packet from England, which was expected to take the August mail, arrived so late, that I had only time to finish two letters to Pembroke Hall, which were indispensable, and of which I inclose duplicates, begging you to have the goodness to forward them. By the June Packet I received an intimation from the tutor at Pembroke, that an election for two fellows of that society would be held the beginning of November, and that I might attend the meeting personally as a candidate, which however he was authorized by the society to acquaint me was by no means absolutely necessary. This dispensation from personal attendance I could not but eagerly embrace under my present circumstances, although I am apprehensive that it may be a prejudice to me at the ensuing election. *Segnius irritant animos demissa per auren quam quo sunt oculis subjecte [i] fidelibus,*⁷ and I believe (laying aside all other considerations) there will ever be very little hesitation in deciding between two candidates at Pembroke and one proxy from Baltimore. The two gentlemen are my seniors on the Boards, a circumstance much to my disadvantage. On the score of real merit it is not for me to speak. This only I may without much vanity assert that according to that scale which our University has chosen to adopt as the test of merit, I am at least equal to one of the candidates, and decidedly superior to the other.⁸

" By this conveyance, my dear Sir, I cannot with prudence address you on certain subjects. I must, too, just observe to you that in consequence of the conduct of its ministers the influence of France over the minds of the people here is fast declining. It is indeed *malgré lui*, [in spite of him] and while it is possible to separate in idea the man and his measures from those of his nation, the recantation will not be sung in full and unanimous chorus. A weak government (and still more if it be a proud one) does not chuse to be reminded of its weakness; it can therefore never forgive an insult, which involves at once the assertion and its proof and both in the most humiliating way. What should we think of the policy of an adventurer who could remind his hoary mistress of her age, and challenge her to bite him because he knew she had no teeth? On the other hand our friend [Hammond] at Pha. is turning the current in another direction with a sure and silent progress. By a conduct frank and temperate, firm yet always respectful, he is proceeding by the smooth road to gain the affections of this country towards himself and his nation. This turn has been very perceptible during my stay in this town which at the time of my arrival was almost entirely French.⁹

⁷ "Those who are distant disturb the minds somewhat less actively by ear than where they are regarded by faithful eyes."

⁸ Thornton was elected Fellow, Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1798.

⁹ "The people everywhere, so far as he [Genet] had anything to do with them,

"The town of Baltimore is the largest in the State of Maryland, though it is not the metropolis, nor the seat of the government. It contains about twelve or fourteen thousand inhabitants, and is in my opinion beyond comparison the most *increasing* commercial town of any which I have yet seen. It is built on one side of a circular bason near the head of the Chesapeak, the most noble bay in the world, in a low sandy bottom, and closely encircled with hills. The place from this description you may easily imagine is neither pleasant nor healthy; in fact the heat of the summer is almost intolerable, and the ague and fever are frequent visitors. From the hills about it these views of the bason, the shipping, and of the numerous points and islands in the bay, are really superb. The country as far as it is cultivated is extremely productive in corn, particularly on the Eastern Shore of this Bay, whose produce and that of the banks of the Susquehanna and some other rivers are brought entirely to this town, at least when designed for exportation. A vast quantity of flour is also brought by land carriage from a considerable distance. The culture of tobacco is on the decline in this State, and indeed in Virginia itself; although it will form for several years to come a very considerable article of exportation. The population of this State is estimated to exceed 300,000 of whom nearly one third are slaves, and this estimate allows about 27 persons to a square mile. In a country so thinly inhabited, although it produces much more than it consumes a great portion must necessarily be unsettled and still in a state of nature. In fact the roads lie thro' woods whose continuity is occasionally interrupted by open spots of cultivated land. I travelled thro' that part, the Eastern Shore, which is reckoned to be in the highest state of cultivation; and which is yet laid out in this manner. These open tracts of corn or nature land are often very extensive but are constantly encircled by a kind of ampitheatre of woods and unless in traveling the road happens to be so elevated as to overtop the neighbouring trees, a forest is the constant boundary of every prospect.

"As to the manners of the people in this place, I could, were I so disposed, expatiate upon the primitive purity of the inferior classes, upon the general knowledge of the higher orders in every branch of science, more especially in political economy, upon their liberal, enlightened and polished manner of discussing the latter topic. I could do all this; but the vessel which conveys my letter may perhaps be stopped by a cruiser, the letters examined, and I may be suspected of having adopted this indirect mode of paying my court to the inhabitants of B[altimore]. I shall therefore be silent; and if I ever find certain sentiments almost involuntarily rising in my mind (you will easily conjecture of what nature they are) I shall still contrive to check their progress by a recollection of those charming models of refined manners, of goodness and of knowledge which I have ever seen. By this recollection I become once

seemed to be very friendly to French principles and to France. The government took an entirely different attitude." Edward Channing, *A History of the United States*, IV (New York, 1927), p. 132.

more satisfied with human nature. "I feed on sweet contentment of my thoughts," and feel myself more than ever,

"Your grateful and affectionate,

"E. T.

"P. S. I did not receive by the last Packet the letters of Alfred you were so good as to promise me. I read them with Mr. Hammond and admired them so much not to wish to repeat that pleasure.

"If you could spare me a London daily paper after you had thrown it aside, I should be extremely grateful for it; as I see in this place none but partial, mutilated and even malicious extracts from the most violent of the English papers. I have importuned my brother repeatedly with a similar request and have never been able to obtain them in a regular or even in any manner from him.

"James Bland Burges, Esq."

"E. T.

"Baltimore

"3rd November 1793

"J. B. Burges, Esq.

"My ever dear Sir,

"I do not apologize to you for the very long silence which I have observed (except in one or two instances) since my residence here: for in fact the difficulties, arising from the alarming malady which has raged at Philadelphia, from the late arrivals of the Packets and their almost instant departure together with the uncertainty of any other conveyance, have deterred or rather have prevented me entirely from writing.¹⁰ During the four months in which I have lived in this town (the longest and most busy I have ever seen) I have not been regaled with the sight of a single British vessel, but under the *agreeable* circumstances of capture often illegal, unlawful, condemnation and precipitate sale.¹¹ I cannot indeed claim much merit from an activity and vigilance, which, although my duty and my pleasure, has been not a little stimulated by my hatred of the Gaelic name and by indignation at their shameful proceedings. The gross partiality to that system discovered by the mass of the people here and their malevolence against Great Britain, supported and perhaps ex-

¹⁰ Hammond called the yellow fever epidemic "certainly one of the most malignant that has ever existed in any age or nation." Hammond to Grenville, FO 5:1. October 12, 1793. The yellow fever first appeared in Baltimore in August. "A very considerable part of the inhabitants of the Point fled into the country and some of the town also removed." Annie Leakin Sioussat, *Old Baltimore*. (New York, 1931), pp. 133-134.

¹¹ Hammond repeatedly protested the seizure of British vessels in violation of American neutrality. He later became an undersecretary in the Foreign Office and for years he was a thorn in the side of successive American ministers in London.

torted by the terrors of a French armed force have contributed in no small degree to increase my irritable disposition. Allow me, my dear Sir, to reveal to you my opinion (and under the seal of the strictest confidence) that the interests of Great Britain have sustained material injury, I will not say by her neglect of this Coast, but by her entire and undivided attention to more important objects. It has lost her the opportunity for a time and perhaps forever, of capturing a fleet of merchantmen, whose value could scarcely be short of ten million sterling.

"This indeed could not have been foreseen; but in war and in such a war as the present, what event can be predicted? When that fleet arrived in the Chesapeak with thousands of naked wretches on board flying from fire and massacre and horror, it excited an enthusiasm and compassion *prima impressione*, which would have been more honorable to the American character, had they not been tintured a little too much with politics.¹² The desperate faction in this country, attached to France seized with eagerness this favourable moment of relieving their *allies* and carried away in the torment all good men who were urged to the same object by purer motives. At first indeed I congratulated myself that a B. sqn. had *not* been in the way to intercept this unhappy people, who had no other interest in the fleet than that of their own immediate preservation. But why could not a British squadron after taking them have relieved them in the same manner? Why could not our glorious nation have run a second career of generosity and compassion similar to the first example she gave to an admiring world? Instead of this, under the protection of a general principle which had contemplated so singular an exception to itself, a set of privateers, the disgrace of human nature by their rapacity and cruelty, plundered the unfortunate creatures, who could not escape with the fleet, of the poor remains of their fortune rescued from the flames and gave a second opportunity to the same faction of depressing the British character to which they artfully extended the stigma, in the same proportion that they had before elevated the French. By this we lost the occasion of presenting another honorable spectacle to the world, that of the armed force of a great nation punishing its guilty subjects, who had too shamefully abused its general laws. I know that in this country these enmities of the privateers have been described with all the aggravations of private malignity: but does not this give an additional force to my arguments?

¹² "In the course of last week nine or ten vessels from Cape Francois, under the convoy of the frigate *la Furie* have arrived in ports of the United States, having on board eleven hundred passengers chiefly white males and women of colour. The former are the desperate profligate Democrats, . . . who, in consequence of a part of the island being in possession of his Majesty's forces, have endeavored to secure by flight their personal safety. Their arrival has naturally excited the resentment of the former fugitives from St. Domingo, by whom their conduct will be narrowly watched. It is said that since the departure of these persons, not more than three hundred whites are left behind at the Cape," reported Hammond to Grenville, November 10, 1793; FO 5:1. More than one thousand of the refugees had come to Baltimore where within one hour \$11,000 had been subscribed for their relief; Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

"In fine my dear Sir, the manoeuvres of this same faction, with the co-operation of the French Minister and the terrors of the fleet (all of which would have been overcome by the strong counterpoise of an English squadron) actually intimidated the government of this country from pursuing with vigour that system which prudence pointed out to it to adopt. Forgive me, my ever dear Sir, that I talk thus freely to you; I am jealous of my country's honor, which (in this place more particularly) affects me if possible as nearly as the preservation of my own character; and when so much has been done well, I wish to see it done well in every part.

"As for myself and my life in this town, when I tell you that G[reat] B[ritain] has in it many more who dislike than those who admire her; that I never shrink from her cause in any argument, but support it with perhaps an improper warmth, you may think that I do not lead an extremely pleasant life. That is perhaps true; but after all partly from good humour, partly perhaps from the frank expression of my spleen when I find it excited, I believe that I have made more friends than foes in it. Shall I however disclose to you one fault which I begin to discover in myself? I fear I am growing vain and insolent. In England a young man must be possessed of an uncommon share of vanity or must have had extremely bad luck, if he has not found himself almost always in company superior to him in rank, in talents and in education. From the continual rubs which vanity thus receives the blemish becomes polished, if it be not destroyed. If then I should sigh out a wish to return to England, impute it as you please to my desire of re-learning the lesson of humility, or to my anxiety to embrace my dear and honored friends. What a cure for both these feelings would your company afford to

" My dear Sir

" Your ever faithful and affectionate

" Edwd. Thornton "

ORIGINAL NAME OF BLADENSBURG

From time to time articles have been written suggesting that the port and trading post at the forks of the Eastern Branch may have been in existence for some time prior to the legislative act of 1742 designating it as Bladensburg in honor of Governor Bladen. The late J. H. Shannon who wrote for *The Sunday Star* (Washington, D. C.) under "The Rambler" suggested that he believed the original name was Garrison's Landing; however, to my knowledge, none of the writers ever identified the original settlement by the original name, Beall Town.

The tract upon which Bladensburg is located was called "Black Ash" or "Black Oak" and was owned by John Beall (1688-1742) (of Alexander). John Beall's wife was Verlinda Magruder (1690-1745), and they conveyed many lots in and adjoining Beall Town long before it was named Bladensburg.—Among the transactions being:—

Grantee	Lots	Date	Record
John Haswell	36, 41	12.12.1728	M. f. 388
John Bradford	5, 6, 15, 27	12.12.1728	M. f. 348
Ninian Beall	19	12.12.1728	M. f. 387
Rich. Snowden	12	12.12.1728	M. f. 386
David Cranford	9	12.12.1728	M. f. 385
Nath. Wickham	1	12.12.1728	M. f. 385
Thos. Harris	4	12.12.1728	M. f. 385
Samuel Magruder, Sr.	(1 lot)	12.13.1728	M. f. 378
William Beall	22 (1 acre)	12.12.1728	M. f. 392
Hen. Cramphin	4 acres	11.13.1734	T. f. 201
Thos. Odell	3	12.12.1728	M. f. 391, 2
Thos. Chittam	$\frac{1}{2}$ acre	9.9.1738	T. f. 650
John Bell	32	12.12.1728	M. f. 393
Nicholas Smith	33	12.12.1728	M. f. 388
Joseph Jones	26	12.12.1728	M. f. 389
H. & E. Tafford	1 acre	5.11.1741	Y. f. 285
Chris. Lowndes	6 acres	5.25.1741	Y. f. 291

Between 1728 and 1742 some lots were resold, e. g., Ninian Beall to John Adamson: Lot 19 (1 acre), 1.5.1731, Liber Q. f. 418, 422.

After Beall Town became Bladensburg in 1742, the land conveyances described the lots as being in Bladensburg and we find:—

—Andrew Beall to Chris. Lownes, Lot 40, west of Bridge Street, Bladensburg; 3.29.1748 BB or EE f. 605.

—William Thornton to Andrew Beall, lots 35, 36, Bladensburg, 4.16.1776, Lib. CC—2 f. 261.

No search has been made to run the titles of lots conveyed by John Beall, ux. Verlinda, and the few references after 1744 were noted because the name Beall was involved and I was taking all P. G. Co. deeds to or from a Beall.

I have not found the plat of either Beall Town or Bladensburg.

J. NINIAN BEALL

Investment Bldg., 15th and K Sts., N. W.,
Washington 5, D. C.

MARYLAND PILGRIMAGE FORUM

A series of lectures under the joint sponsorship of the Maryland Historical Society, the Federated Garden Clubs, and the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities, will be given in connection with the Maryland House and Garden Pilgrimage on Monday, May 2 and again on

May 9. The sessions will be held both afternoon and evening in the auditorium of the Baltimore Museum of Art. On May 2 at 2.30 p. m. Dr. Richard H. Howland, Professor of Fine Arts at Johns Hopkins, will speak of "Maryland Architecture" and will be followed by Mr. J. A. Lloyd Hyde, who will discuss Chinese export porcelain. At 8.30 the same evening "Maryland Furniture" will be the subject of a lecture by Mr. Charles F. Montgomery, Director of duPont Winterthur Museum, and Mrs. Lydia Bond Powel, Keeper of the Metropolitan Museum's American Wing, will talk on "A House and Garden Tour in Early America."

The program for May 9 will be as follows: At 2.30 Miss Alice Winchester, Editor of *Antiques*, will speak on "Collecting and Living with Antiques" and Mr. Joe Kindig, Jr., will tell "Where Antiques Have Led Me." At 8.30 Maryland architecture will be the topic of Professor Robert C. Smith of the University of Pennsylvania, followed by Mr. Charles Coleman Sellers, of the Dickinson College Faculty who will lecture on Charles Willson Peale and his paintings.

The cost will be \$2.00 for each Forum session or \$3.50 per day. If both days are included, the total admission will be \$6.00. For tickets write Pilgrimage Headquarters, Sheraton-Belvedere Hotel, Baltimore 2.

Anglican Church History—The undersigned is engaged in a research project covering the formative meeting of the Anglican Church held at Chestertown, Kent Co., in Nov., 1780. He wants to locate MSS of following key men, all closely associated with Maryland:

Rev. Dr. William Smith (1727-1803). Known depositories: New York and Pennsylvania historical societies, and American Philosophical Society.

Rev. Mr. James Jones Wilmer (1749-1814). None known.

Rev. Mr. Samuel Keene (1734-1810). None known.

Any assistance in this research will be greatly appreciated.

ROBERT W. SHOEMAKER

Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, N. Y.

Abrahams et al—Need information on present day descendants of following mid-19th century Baltimore shipwrights:

Abrahams, John J.

Ashcroft, Robert

Goodwin, Richard B.

Skinner, William

M. V. BREWINGTON
Route One, Cambridge.

Longwell—Alexander—Lorman—Wm. and Hugh Longwell (Langwill, Longwill), probably brothers, bought land 1749 in New Munster section of Cecil Co. Traditionally Wm. married 1st a dau. of Moses Alexander; he married 2d 1756 in Old Swedes Church, Margaret Glann. Wm. Lonwill died testate in Cecil Co. 1790, leaving three daus: (1) Mary (1748-1794) md. 1st Andrew Lorman and removed to Falmouth, Va., and 2nd James Lyon (1756-1836); (2) Martha md. 1778 Jonathan Rutter; and (3) Margaret md. Archibald Dysart. Andrew and Mary Longwill Lorman were parents of William Lorman (1764-1841) who went to Baltimore and became a leading merchant and business man. The above Moses Alexander d. 1762 leaving a son Mark, shipbuilder of Baltimore and a daughter Priscilla Alexander White to whom he left the family Bible.

Need information about Longwell (Longwill, Langwill)—Lorman or Alexander families prior to 1800; the name of the first wife of Wm. Longwill (17 -1790) and information regarding descendants of Priscilla (Alexander) White who inherited the Alexander family Bible.

GEORGE H. S. KING

1301 Prince Edward St., Fredericksburg Va.

Melvin—Robertson—Blades—Wish to exchange data on early history of Melvin family of Worcester and Somerset cos. Can someone tell me names of parents of Leah Robertson, b. 1753, m. Wm. Melvin, Revolutionary War soldier? Who were parents of Ann Blades, m. Thomas B. Melvin, 1842?

Miss RUTH E. YOUNG

10 Myrtle St., East Hampton, Hampton, Va.

Pegg—Would like any information concerning Valentine Pegg, particularly the county in which he lived. He was born in Md. ca. 1743 and brothers named James and John (twins), Martin, and Samuel.

Mrs. ALLEN C. KINNAMAN

711 Beech Ave., Charleston 2, W. Va.

Selby—Can someone tell me when Mary Selby of Anne Arundel Co. was born? She married (1st) in 1694 Charles Howard of A. A. Co., (2d) in 1718/9 Otho Holland. Need also names, dates, and places of birth and death of Mary Selby's parents.

Mrs. HOWARD HEARNE CRANE

1101 N. Mallard St., Palestine, Tex.

Slye—Reference is made to the marriage of Jean-Charles-Marie-Louis Pascault to Mary Magdalen Slye of St. Mary's Co. in 1789 in Walter C. Hartridge's article "The Refugees from the Island of St. Domingo in Maryland," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXVIII (June, 1943), 116. Can some one tell me the names of Miss Slye's parents and how she is related to Robert and Susanna Gerrard Slye of "Bushwood Manor"?

CHARLES R. GOLDSBOROUGH, JR.
504 Somerset Rd., Baltimore 10

Back Issues—The Society always welcomes the return of any and all back issues of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* that members may not wish to retain.

CONTRIBUTORS

Mr. FORMAN, a former contributor to this *Magazine* and author of such well-known books as *The Architecture of The Old South*, travelled more than 1,600 miles to Genesar to make the studies necessary for this article. ☆ An officer of the Society and noted local historian, Mr. MARYE has written many articles for archaeological and historical periodicals. ☆ Mr. BEITZELL has made extensive researches in the history of 17th century Maryland. ☆ Mrs. ROBERT S. PEABODY, who has prepared several installments of the letters of Governor Lee, is a great granddaughter of the Revolutionary chief executive.